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Nordic Yearbook of Folklore

Vol. 64 - 2008

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Editor

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Published by
THE ROYAL GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS ACADEMY
UPPSALA, SWEDEN

Distributed by
SWEDISH SCIENCE PRESS
UPPSALA, SWEDEN

© 2008 by The Royal Gustavus Adolphus Academy, Uppsala
ISSN 0066-8176
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Printed with grants from
Vetenskapsrådet (Swedish Research Council), Stockholm, Sweden

Articles appearing in this yearbook are abstracted and indexed in
Historical Abstracts and America: History and Life 1998–
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http:// www.hf.uio.no/ikos/forskning/arv/index.html
Cover: Kirsten Berrum
For index of earlier volumes, see
http://www.kgaa.nu/tidskrift.php

Distributor
Swedish Science Press
Box 118, SE–751 04 Uppsala, Sweden
phone: +46(0)18365566
fax: +46(0)18365277
e-mail: info@ssp.nu

Printed in Sweden
Textgruppen i Uppsala AB, Uppsala 2008

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Subcultural Commitment and its Consequences

“Totten Hard Core” Ten Years After

Olav Christensen

Various spectacular and excessive aspects of subcultures have dominated media presentations and the perceptions of the general public. In a situation where problem and conflict perspectives dominate the public discourse, personal involvement in a youth subculture is an expressive deviation. Seen from the point of view of the mainstream, going against the grain of all established careers can have nothing but negative consequences for one’s education and adult life. This paper will examine in more detail the long-term importance of a subcultural commitment, focusing on the opportunities those involved find to exploit their acquired competence in their continuing working career. The empirical basis for this study is the data from fieldwork carried out from 1996 to 1998 among a group of young and dedicated snowboarders. The informants, today young adults in their early thirties, were re-interviewed in 2006 with the aim of evaluating personal histories in a typical subculture. The questions they were asked concerned the experiences they had gained from investing so heavily in subcultural competence, and the extent to which they had benefited from this in their later professional careers.

Working on my PhD thesis on young snowboarders, I got to know a group of dedicated riders with clear subcultural preferences. Throughout the 1990s they spent as much time as possible at Totten Camping facilities at the bottom of Hemsedal ski centre in central Norway. The fieldwork served as the basis for a dual study, first the lived experience dimension, and then the tribe’s belonging in a mediated global culture (Christensen 2001). The socialization that was the basis for participation in international snowboarding subculture was generally an informal media education, and the necessity of subcultural media literacy was so fundamental that young men who had played truant from their English classes in school taught themselves the language without any homework pressure from teachers.

This environment represented a rich linguistic, symbolic and action-based group of around forty persons, with many of them putting substantial effort into their self-chosen cultural diaspora. The tribal name “Totten Hard Core”, or THC, was a teasing provocation against everything these youths had learned about drugs at home and in school. It was also a statement about subcultural belonging: Mt. Baker Hard Core (MBHC) was one of the prototypical snowboarding tribes, representatives of a special subcultural movement dominated by interest in large mountains with steep down slopes and excellent opportunities for off-piste riding.

This group had roots in the campsite going back to the winter of 1991, and their technical skills and subcultural competence were well established. Through folklore it is possible to express the perception of being part of the global subculture. Prominent pro riders and media types from abroad had visited their camp and been given guided tours to tribal free-riding gems like “The Anus” and “Devil Valley”. According to oral tradition, however, the international celebrities also lost their hero status after shying away from the local extreme tracks. This confirmed that the mountains of the Totten clan were adequately radical and that their pistes required skills equal to the best. In the winter of 1996 I encountered an assertive community of very self-aware young persons with a strong sense of riding a wave of the future.

In a Norwegian context snowboarding had an element of opposition already when the first exchange students returned from their stay in the US with their snowboards in the early 1980s.

Having profiled itself as the cradle of skiing (cf. Christensen 1994) for more than a century, Norway was hardly receptive to innovations on snow. Snowboarding was publicly dismissed as a skiing blind alley. This opposition notwithstanding, soon after I initiated my fieldwork I realised that snowboarding would come to attract much attention in Norway. In 1996, Norwegian media mentioned snowboarding more times than in the entire period from its invention up to 1995. In the winter of 1998 the focus was so substantial in the Norwegian media that it can be called media hype, and the consequences, needless to say, followed. Up to 2000, interest escalated so strongly that the media started to write about the crisis of recruitment in other winter sports.

While the earliest snowboarders in Norway were highly resourceful exchange students, the second generation was comprised of urban youths who took their cues from the punk-media inspired noise around snowboarding in the USA at the end of the 1980s. With its background in the eastern districts of Oslo, the Totten community fit well into this picture. Around 1990, as several informants told me, it was not easy to obtain a snowboard in Norway, as teenagers did not know where boards could be purchased and this was equipment parents did not want to pay for. Not a few youths found a solution in fabricating their own snowboard in arts and crafts classes in

Hemsedal, one of Norway's alpine skiing paradises, also features great slopes for snowboarders. In the middle is the large snowboarding park with several demanding jumps and challenges, designed by Lars from Totten Hard Core in 1996. This was the first snowboarding park in Norway, its design inspired by American originals. Lars had studied the originals carefully in snowboarding magazines and films. Photo: Finn Hobbel

school, a do-it-yourself attitude that characterized the snowboarding community for quite some time.

In 2006, ten years after I initiated my fieldwork, I contacted the Totten community snowboarders once again. This time my research question was significantly simpler, and I had a well-founded basis for putting the responses in the context I wanted: What has it meant for your further life that you invested so much time and energy in the snowboarding subculture? The basis was the interest in the holistic aspect of a subcultural career progression: what does a subcultural commitment actually mean to those concerned in a longer perspective? Some youths are attracted by subcultures, and some allow this involvement to dominate their day-to-day living through many important years of their youth. What are the consequences for their further professional careers/occupations and cultural preferences, and how do they exploit the opportunities available to them because they have subcultural capital? Based on my personal acquaintance with the informants it was not only possible to initiate a new dialogue, but even more importantly, my familiarity with their involvement and competence in 1996 made it possible to let the dialogue commence precisely here. While the research situation in 1996 required long-term efforts as a participating observer, this had now been reduced to the problem of obtaining cell phone numbers.

The conversations that followed showed that many of the informants had thought about this issue before I started asking my questions. They had all reflected upon their passion and their priorities, and several carefully point-

ed out that other youths envied them their hedonistic lifestyle and the opportunity to dedicate themselves to their interest without too many obligations in their formative years. The culture of snowboarding has been heavily mediated during the last ten years, and not least the THC tribe. My work did a lot to increase the media focus, but the self-reflexivity of the individuals was simultaneously stimulated by my research activity at the campsite.

Youth cultures and the media

The fact that modern subcultures presuppose media focus was proved by sociologist Stanley Cohen already in 1972. His point of departure was that the understanding of subcultures as significant social problems had been established by media narratives. Exaggerations and "sensation-monging", as orchestrated by the tabloid media, marginalized youth subcultures in relation to mainstream elements of the population, a phenomenon Cohen called moral panic (Cohen 1972/1980). Since 1972, the constant media flow of stories of young people's excesses, hedonism and deliberate disregard of norms under pressure has caused a substantial degree of attrition of moral indignation. Negative focus on typical subcultural excesses such as violations of the law, drug abuse, sexuality, vandalism or extreme risk-taking creates resistance and disgust in broad population groups, but at the same time evokes a form of respect or even admiration from some groups.

This applies not least in youth communities where radical acts appear to be more important references than political radicalism. The "jackass" phenomenon is symptomatic of this. Inspired by so-called *slam sessions* from skateboard videos, i.e. sequences of uncommonly bad falls served in rapid succession, the jackass phenomenon reached the general public through MTV. In skateboard videos slam sessions are the only sequences where personal identity is not a theme, which makes it reasonable to interpret them as thematizations of the collective's victims of pain on their way to mastering the extremely technical (and pain-generating) skateboard tricks. The MTV version of jackass presented the themes of excess and pain to a wider audience, but with the essential difference that being aboard a shopping cart on its way down a flight of stairs or putting fire to oneself lack any and all references to a meaningful context of developing knowledge.

What is special about today's visual media is that they make the action community accessible to subcultural identity activities. Radical acts are placed in a context where the radicalism is made meaningful for those on the inside and admirable for those on the outside. Simple and inexpensive digital technology has made photography, videoing and video editing available to more and more people. In communities like the skateboarding world it is not uncommon that children down to 12 or 13 years of age undertake video self-mediation and editing in the pattern of commercial skateboard

Dedicated snowboarders were more than happy to work on duties connected to their favourite activity. The title of the picture is: "Finn Hobbel preparing the jump on a funbox". Here, love is in the air… . Photo: Lars Eriksen

media. The subcultural contemporary element is positioned within a dual media field, self-mediating and self-identifying on the one hand, and with strong media pressure from the outside on the other. The focus of the mainstream media also has more far-reaching consequences than those pointed out by Cohen. Marginalization continues to be part of the internal dynamics of subculture, but the secondary effect of media as producers of youthful affinity is no less significant. The basis for this second point is the media's definition of certain phenomena as "subcultural". Anthropologist Sarah Thornton pointed this out when she rejected the discussion about what subculture is by referring to the definition provided by the general media, i.e. that phenomena that are spoken about as subculture are subculture (Thornton 1995).

In the wake of media labelling of subcultures and youthful acceptance comes commercial opportunities, as Dick Hebdige pointed out back in 1978. The subcultural production of symbols and media marketing create a large number of references that make it possible for anyone to relate to the subculture in a very simple manner by purchasing music CDs or T-shirts. Most "youth rebellions" occur within the family framework and without stronger expressions than disobedience, and precisely because the subcultural element includes a dimension of being a good, at least the reflected

glory is for sale for all those who feel the marginalization of youth but who do not actually initiate their potential as "young rebels". As such, subcultures have become part of the consumer logic of the post-modern society, closely interwoven with production of new identities, technologies and products. The commercial opportunities stemming from subcultures have increased in step with their signal value in a depoliticized consumer society. A number of studies have shown how subcultural capital is applied to lend branded goods credibility and status in corporate business (cf. Frank 1997, Quart 2003).

The growth of and any hype about subcultures is not only due to media and the marketplace. A subcultural expansion culminates when the focus from media and commercial actors is reduced and other phenomena take over the media stage. The intense interest and activity surrounding expansive subcultures produce so much attention that sooner or later the saturation level is reached, and when it has come to a stage where not only "wannabes" but also children dress in the artefacts and symbols of the subculture, it is no longer attractive to profile oneself through this identity. In the case of snowboarding, this took place around the year 2000 in Norway.

Opportunities in subcultural capital

Today the informants were in their early thirties, and while many previously lived a free and unbound bohemian lifestyle, I now found young adults who had jobs, families and permanent residences. Typically, when I called Marius, it was the day before he was to become a father, the second time in three years. Einar was busy refurbishing his new apartment where he was moving in with his pregnant partner. The informants I interviewed in 2006 all looked back on their investment in subculture and snowboarding as a good choice, and emphasized that it had been very positive for them. The bohemian years at the camp were to be considered a privilege. "I don't have so much stress to satisfy as much now" was one comment, while another stated that "all the girlfriends I've had have envied me my free life." But this affinity with the subculture did not suggest that these youths had been socially well adjusted, rather the opposite was the case, particularly for the boys, who talked of being restless at school with various degrees of concentration difficulties from an early age. Sitting still did not suit them well, which, according to many, made them feel like outsiders. Most had stories to tell of being marginalized both before and in connection with their snowboarding career, feeling that they were different in a negative way. When these young people found their way into the subculture in their teens they did not expect that this would be seen as negative in most contexts. "You don't only put yourself outside, you are put outside as well", as one of them articulated this experience ten years after.

None of the around 40 youths I got to know at Totten in 1996 are involved fulltime in snowboarding today. Around 25 per cent of the boys are employed as craftsmen, and some are unskilled workers. One erects scaffolding, one is a driver, and one is involved in transport, but his job is currently mostly focused on trade union activities. The ones who have been continuously employed the longest are those who chose to tone down their involvement in their subcultural career at Totten at an early stage. There is also a tendency where the ones who were most heavily involved in the subculture have also had the most "chaotic" career paths, nonetheless, many of them have been able to use the competence they acquired in the 1990s as their "education" and done well with it.

The dream of living the life of a pro snowboarder was realised for periods of time by a number of the most talented Totten riders. In 1997/1998 a new trend opened the door to opportunities. Black rappers and skaters in the Bronx became dedicated customers and users of the Norwegian clothing manufacturer Helly Hansen's extreme weather clothes designed for fishermen and wildlife guides. This was, not surprisingly, something the producer was initially totally unaware of. An associated Totten member became wise to this fact in 1997 and saw the long-term possibilities. He informed trend journalists in *Dagbladet*, a Norwegian tabloid newspaper, which investigated and headlined this trend in their paper. Helly Hansen then saw the opportunities, and the next year they presented their first line of snowboarding clothing. Marius, one of the central Totten riders with previous experience from snowboarding teams, advised the Helly Hansen marketing department on proper sales ethics for snowboarding gear. In accordance with established tradition, a team of semi-professional snowboarders was assembled, including several from Totten. Marius was given the job of team leader.

In the early 1990s the Totten youths with the most entrepreneurial spirit strove to get Norwegian industry involved in snowboarding. A number of approaches were made to manufacturers of skis, ski bindings and clothing, but up to 1998 these efforts bore no fruit. When Helly Hansen stepped into this market, other producers of sports and leisure gear were inspired to collaborate with subculture representatives, ensuring that a number of Totten riders were given tasks in product development and testing. Even if the road to inspiring the conservative Norwegian industry was a long one, the idea of establishing production of snowboarding-related gear was not far off. The development of snowboards had led to a great number of innovations, where many were derived from the special rotations movement pattern. In a rotation the idea is to have the widest possible angle of vision, and the ski goggles on the market restricted the field of vision. Special snowboarder goggles become a huge success through the 1990s, and at Totten some of the young men put much effort into developing a special goggles brand for international distribution. Even though a lot of work went into making a

prototype, it was never put into production. In spite of many attempts, no successful industrial entrepreneurships came out of the many initiatives from the Totten community, but several producers undoubtedly found the entrepreneurially spirited youths useful when marketing their own products.

Media matters

The iconographic representations of such subcultures as surfing and snowboarding are associated with dreams of freedom, flow and ecstasy, youthful self-realization and hedonism. From an insider's point of view, snowboarding subculture is said to be attractive because the riders rule their own activities on all levels and in most contexts. The rationale for rejecting coaches, managers and other adult authorities is that this activity is play, and that the only reasonable measuring stick is each individual's own. The counter-cultural formations of power are primarily thematized in the form of narratives about pro riders, about how the players that dominate the videos and magazines set standards and premises the industry must deal with. This is, needless to say, folklore, but nevertheless holds a core of truth. Practically any manufacturer who has ambitions to use subcultural credibility in marketing has teams of professional and semi-professional riders. This is so fundamental that even producers of screws for snowboard bindings use teams of riders, and a comprehensive flora of "heroes" are fully or partly financially supported by the manufacturers. The ideal is related to founders who combined careers as top riders, developers and manufacturers, the cultural matrix for internal credibility. Therefore advertising offers a heavy argument when stating that the products are "rider designed". Through manufacturer cooperation and use, pro riders guarantee the products' advantages when it comes to both value of use and internal approval. Therefore, it is also the pro riders who are in focus when snowboard manufacturers advertise in internal media, not the manufacturers (cf. Howe 1998).

However, snowboarding as a cultural system would not have functioned without what Thornton calls sub-mass media (Thornton 1995). The role of pro riders as mediators between hobby riders and the manufacturers is their ground for existence, but requires mediation of the relationship.

I found that media consumption was an important part of the project of being a "snowboarder", much more than studying a collective literature. The intense moments of weightlessness as it is experienced at the apex of these vertically ascending jumps should preferably be enjoyed "aux naturel", as personal extreme experiences. Less intense but nevertheless interesting and attractive are the collectively accessible experiences, particularly those that can be enjoyed through film. The mediated version basically lacks the body dimension, but the media fieldwork showed that the visual

narratives were perceived as representations of one's own body movements (Christensen 2005a). This was not to be passive consumption, for the absence of one's own body was to be compensated to the best of their ability by imitations of the body movements while sitting watching the screen. This made it possible to emulate the physical sequence of events and movements and discuss technical details. The enjoyment brought on by what they watched had the body movements (and the experiences gained from these) of these youths as its context. Bearing this in mind, there are grounds to consider the perception of actual and mediated experience as a holistic system where the two components mutually reinforce each other (cf. Christensen 2001).

There was keen awareness of the importance of the media in this community, and many took photographs or recorded video using various film and video formats. Already in 1996 there were specific plans for the production of snowboarding videos based on the clan's "private" back-country and (in part) with Totten riders, but this was only realized in 1998 with a film opening gala and release party. The producers made two additional films before the production company went under. The Totten youths had greater success with their *Playboard Magazine* which appeared in 1997. Four young entrepreneurs founded it, three from the THC group. Einar, a young and self-taught photographer with great vigour, took charge of the photography as well as the organization, Hege sold advertising and provided revenues, while Siri made sure it was up to scratch in design and artistic content in keeping with subculture conventions. The latter left after the first issues, but the others ran *Playboard* for several years until harder times and poor results forced them to hand the concept over to others.

The development of competence from "unskilled" activities within snowboard media proved to be valuable. In a delimited knowledge field pervaded by subcultural ideals, such as snowboarding, the learning process has direction. Action photography within a delimited context with internal ideals is seen as valuable regardless the photo-technical level because the pictures capture the "clan" in a special way, while the photographs of courageous actions provide the photographer with a good point of departure for impressing people outside this environment. Photo editor Einar in *Playboard* gave his colleague Kris from Totten the opportunity to publish pictures in *the magazine*, and over time he established a network of contacts within and outside the subculture.

In 1997 the THC group arranged an event called *Park 97*, in many ways the celebration of a great victory. Over a number of years the most eager of them had attempted to persuade the management of the alpine skiing facility to construct a snowboarding park, i.e. a special area dedicated to the airy moves idealized by the snowboarding community. In earlier arrangements they had demonstrated the potential of snowboarding, both in relation to its

The start of a career: While snowboarder Linda stayed in Totten Camping, she would while away evenings playing with Plasticine. One of the girls suggested she should make some figures to be used as safety signboards on the snowboard slope (see the picture). "Your figures should be used in an animated film," another proposed. This was the start of a working career, and in the summer of 2007 she received the highest Norwegian award for her first animated film.

sports merits and also its entertainment potential, so the management of the alpine skiing facility had gained a certain degree of respect for the community. When it was determined that a snowboarding park would be built in Hemsedal for the 1996/97 season, the task of designing it was given to Lars from Totten, one of the fiery idealists. He was an experienced rider who relished his airy rides, so the emerging park was not intended for beginners. In this way the most talented riders were allowed to demonstrate the potentials of snowboarding, and the park became an arena that was favoured by insider photographers chasing spectacular visual narratives. For the *Park 97* event, bands had been hired to play on the hill, funded by sponsor support, the snowboarding industry, mobile phone companies, soft-drink producers and gear importers. Working with these events developed sponsoring competence and skills in profiling and media presentation.

Nature and career choices

Lars is perhaps the one who has most uncompromisingly sought to realize the snowboarder life. His background is in the electrician's trade, but after many years of gradually moving away from this his primary employer today is the alpine skiing centre in Hemsedal. Since the first park was built in 1997 Lars has been a key contributor to the design and operation of the centre and snow installations. The showcasing and developing of competence has eventually led to such assignments as a jump and park designer in Norway and abroad and consultancy assignments for "Norske Skiheisers forening" (the Norwegian Association of Ski Lift Operators). The building of good obstacles requires the combination of knowledge and analytical skills. Riders must be made able to perform groundbreaking tricks, but the coolest tricks of the day are always changing. This expertise also includes how to construct the obstacles and where. When choosing the surroundings, the demands of mediation, meaning backgrounds and camera positions, must be taken into consideration. Courses set for international snowboarding teams under Lars' management have made Hemsedal a location with extensive international coverage in the sub-mass media over the last five or six years.

Eight years after Totten Camping closed its doors and the community was dispersed, one in five of the former campers has a cottage or a house in Hemsedal, and many more continue to be dedicated snowboarders. Lars and Hanne, who lived together in a caravan at Totten, now own a house and live in Hemsedal. Hanne was previously a member of the Helly Hansen team, but was forced to give up active riding because of the head and neck injuries she sustained in a fall, and is now studying aquaculture. A few houses down the road live three of their old neighbours from the campsite. One works as an electrician in the summer and fall, but in the winter he lives in Hemsedal working on the ski lift. One has a cohabitant and children he lives together

with in Oslo in the summer, but he also seeks the mountains in winter. The last of these, the owner of the house, works in Oslo, but arranges his affairs so that he lives most of the winter in Hemsedal, thus satisfying the municipality's resident- owner requirements. Another enthusiast from the old Totten clan lives in Hemsedal operating a sole proprietorship involved in computer graphics and 3D design. In addition to these six, two share a cottage in Hemsedal. Common to all is the desire to ride their snowboards when the heavy snow comes to the valley.

Interest in nature is also an underlying reason for the two studying marine biology as they are aiming for an occupation that keeps them in close contact with the sea. One of the girls with surfing interests moved to the Caribbean in 1997 to work in the tourist industry, and one of the boys is working for a property development company in beach areas in Brazil. In spite of their extreme urban interests and punk rock attitudes in 1996, now, ten years down the road, many give high priority to nature and experiences in nature in their day-to-day lives. Thus it appears reasonable to talk to a certain degree about how the use of nature has been given forms of expression in popular culture. The innovation is in the technologies and movement patterns, while the nature component is in accordance with traditional Norwegian values.

Pain and possibilities

One of my former informants is now studying for a Master's degree in philosophy at the University of Oslo. When I interviewed him I asked how the idea of studying philosophy had come to him. After a brief pause he answered that he had taken the single lift a lot and had had a lot of time to think. While working for the alpine centre in 2001 and 2002 he also had much time to think while sitting alone in the lift operator's cabin. When I reminded him about his injury from BASE jumping some years previously, he answered that if his body had still been willing and able, he would probably have still been living in Hemsedal. When I asked him about his aptitude for philosophy, he went far back in his life: "Children have this thing about reflecting on important issues. Particularly when it comes to fairness and justice." There is no doubt that perceptions of marginality were behind his thoughts. As was the case with most of the people at Totten, he had a past as "different" and deviant when he was possessed by snowboarding in the early 1990s, and this also suggested that one of the main reasons why the subcultural aspects were so important to him was because he had experienced marginality, being different and an outsider (cf. Andes 1998).

The philosophy student was not the only one to bear the scars from injuries suffered from practising his passion. An approach to snowboarding

KULTUR- OG KIRKEDEPARTEMENTET

Veileder

Snowboardpark

For lek i alpinanlegg på ski og snowboard

Lars has made his great interest in snowboarding into his occupation and discarded his original career as an electrician. As park manager at Hemsedal his many years of devoted efforts have positioned him as the Norwegian expert on snowboard parks. In 2006 Norges Snowboardforbund (NSBF – Norwegian Snowboarding Association) and Alpinanleggenses landsforening (National Association of Alpine Lift Operators) hired him to write a guidebook for the design of alpine game parks. A strong proponent of snowboarding, he managed to change the title to "Snowboard Park". This guide has been published in a series of guidebooks issued by the Norwegian Ministry of Culture and Church Affairs. The picture shows a stunt on one of Lars' giant obstacles. Photo: Espen Lystad

that plays to the ideals of always transcending one's own limits has led to many assorted ailments. Many had ligament and other injuries that still bothered them ten years down the road. The worst problems were neck, head, back or shoulder injuries, and several had had to give up active snowboarding for life. Many have nagging injuries which they know might get worse over time, but none of them has stopped considering their commitment to snowboarding as valuable. For Hanne, who is suffering from strong headaches and neck pains after a number of bad falls on her snowboard, this might not be quite so clear. Because she is living in a context where snowboarding and surfing subcultures are substantial elements of the life content, the thought of not having had a career as a pro rider would nevertheless be impossible.

In Easter 1998 catastrophe was just a breath away. Einar, the snowboarding photographer, was on a photo shoot with Marius, the team manager, in the steepest and most dangerous off-piste areas (outside the alpine facility). The snowdrift they were standing on broke and triggered a large avalanche that carried them 400 to 500 metres down the mountain. Both miraculously survived, but they suffered major injuries and had to undergo many operations, spent much time in recuperation centres, and underwent many years of training. Both had been at the peak of their subcultural careers, and the thought of continuing snowboarding at a lower level than before appeared absurd. Both found other ways of utilizing their experiences and talents.

Einar was proof that competence from the creative and commercial sector of subcultural production could in the next instance become another rung up on the career ladder. Many see subcultural competence as geared for the future, and it is possible to use this competence to land a prestigious job where the criterion for employment is innovative orientation. After studying marketing for two semesters, Einar started working as a gardener. But his experience as an editor, his general administrative experience and his stint on the board of *Playboard* snowboarding magazine drew him into other subcultural projects, including serving as a board member for Terje Haakonsen's prestigious annual event in northern Norway, The Artic Challenge (TAC). Contacts from this in 2005 led to Einar getting a very attractive job as a consultant and personal secretary for the head of a Norwegian environmental protection organization.

Final remarks

The youths who were part of the snowboarding community at Totten through the 1990s see their involvement as decisive for their personal development. Through the 1990s this community was right in the middle of a cultural-historic process which changed snowboarding from a subcultur-

al to a mainstream sport, and which meant that from the beginning of the new century snowboarding no longer was an alternative for young people with subcultural aspirations. The Totten clan feel they have been part of something remarkable and different, something that has contributed to changing the world by adding a new component to cultural variety, and something others admire them for having taken part in. The snowboarding subculture has given them all a personal history as co-actors in an important youth cultural movement in Norway in the 1990s. Only a few young people can look back at their youth and find comprehensive and wide ranging documentation. In part their history is uncommonly thoroughly documented through their own sub-media. Later on the mainstream media started to show an interest, which led to many feature articles in newspapers and magazines and TV footage. This mediation does more than document, it confirms that the group's history has been important in a larger context. My doctoral thesis contributed a scientific and a popular monograph on the Totten community.

When the results of youthful abandon bite back at you, with painful knees and old injuries painfully reminding you they are there, it can be comforting to remember that you were a long-term participant in something extraordinary and exciting, lending originality and drama to the autobiography. All found it had been a valuable experience that knowledge could be developed in other ways than just studying at school. It was by no means a given that these unruly youths would land in a productive work career. But today, practically everyone has a job, showing that there is little doubt that deviancy based on expressive use of nature, play and belongingness has qualities that provide long-term building blocks in a life-course perspective. But there are other sides to this as well.

In the beginning the core of the Totten community consisted of two groups of boys, while most of the girls joined from various other environments. Three of the six girls did not come from Oslo and they stood out by having completed twelve years of schooling without particular problems. The girls who came from Oslo had backgrounds that were more similar to the boys. One was introduced to the Totten community by her brother, another through old friends. Initially this last-mentioned girl had no affinity to the mountains, particularly not in the winter, but she was persuaded to come along on a weekend in 1995. The friend who invited her knew she was having major problems and that drug abuse was breaking her down. At Totten she experienced a new social awakening and allowed herself to be infected by the enthusiasm for snowboarding. Not long after we became acquainted she told me that she had been sexually abused while on holiday abroad some years previously and that she had been racing full speed into the hell of drug abuse; but snowboarding had saved her. She told me that the experiences of bodily self-control on the board had given her back the positive feeling of

having a body. Equally important was her experience of nature: She was obsessed by riding down in the soft, clean white snow, and talked about its cleansing qualities. According to her, this had a therapeutic effect. However, the free and carefree life as a bohemian at Totten only lasted three or four years. When the camp closed in the summer of 1998 she set up in a caravan at another campsite in Hemsedal with one of the snowboarders who had become her boyfriend. Pregnancy, birth and children pulled her back to family and old networks in Oslo, and later her chances of actively riding a snowboard dwindled. In the spring of 2006, while I was interviewing ex-Totten members about retrospective issues, I contacted her to ask whether I could interview her, but she did not feel up to it. All in all, without question, the involvement and commitment to snowboarding has had great importance for the youths at Totten, something they also note themselves. It is also clear that many are bothered by old injuries, and it is uncertain how each of them will think about this in 10 or 20 years' time when the recollections of youth diminish and the physical problems might become more debilitating. But finding ways to process perceptions of marginality and being an outsider that help them to find values with lasting importance for the life course, such as using nature and outdoor life, is in itself valuable and positive. However, where there are more comprehensive problem complexes than experiences of being different and an outsider, the joy of experiencing nature, physical exertion and social belonging may provide only temporary relief.

The perhaps most interesting finding in connection with this study of the situation ten years after is how the dynamics in the development of subcultural development might contribute to giving youth who have come adrift a new and stronger cultural and social base. Most of the youths at Totten were genuinely marginal at the end of their teens, and their personal deviancy corresponded to the cultural deviation represented by snowboarding: both were immature and looked upon with substantial scepticism by the mainstream. In the course of the 1990s snowboarding developed technologically and also moved from being a cultural deviancy to winning a place among the most status-filled youth activities. During the same period of time the youths at Totten underwent parallel development, from a group of social outcasts into admired idols. The prototypical subcultural progression, from a marginal position to a creditable anchor point, in itself made development and socialization possible for the youths at Totten. The path from cultural periphery to paradigm-defining centre made snowboarding and snowboarding culture respectable, and included both in the multicultural contemporary period.

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Potent Traditions

On Traditions in the Family

Britta Bjerrum Mortensen

Christmas Eve, Easter gatherings, birthday parties and the exchange of funny little decorated letters at Easter – *gækkebreve* – are all events often celebrated within Danish families. These are events commonly refer to as "family traditions". In this article, I discuss the meaning of these traditions. I focus on the significance that family members attribute to these traditions in their own family life and how this meaning can provide nuances and contribute to understandings of the concept of "tradition".

The descriptions provided by family members demonstrate – for better or for worse – that traditions such as Christmas and Easter have great influence on how they experience their family life. Traditions make family relationships conspicuous, thereby illustrating how family relations are connected to norms and moral opinions that tie and separate them over time. Traditions are therefore potent!

The unique aspect of the discussion of the significance of traditions presented in this article is to be seen in the light of the empirical context, which in the present case deals with family formation over three generations. In a unique manner, the generational perspective demonstrates how change and stability are manifest in practice in late modern family formations. This article thus inscribes itself in the ongoing debate concerning the practical significance of traditions, and therein also the theoretical discussion of the concept. In this context, the article is written up against two predominant theoretical positions: first, tradition understood in terms of cultural continuity (Kofod 2005:20; Otto & Pedersen 2000; Kvale 2004); and second, tradition understood as deliberate creation and political strategy, as argued by the "invention school" (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983; Keesing & Tonkinson 1982). Instead, the article pursues a third position in which traditions are viewed as social and cultural performance (Fabian 1990; Connerton 1989; Hastrup 2004; Gardner & Grillo 2002:185). And I specifically see performance as formation (Fabian 1990:11). This third position is nothing new, as such. Handler and Linnekin already suggested in 1984 that traditions ought

to be viewed as an interpretive process that involves both continuity and breaks (1984:273).

The discussion of the significance of traditions has relevance. First, because our commonsense understanding of e.g. Christmas is, in practice, full of subtleties and patterns that shed light on our time; and here in particular on togetherness and breaks in family formations. Second, the celebration of traditions reveals that we late modern beings are also tied to our family backgrounds to a far greater extent than we might want to be or imagine ourselves to be. Finally, traditions are about much more than just the past. Traditions point forward and help make future groupings and communities possible. The performance perspective contains a number of particular analytical qualities for capturing and interpreting these subtleties.

As background for this article, I have spoken with twenty family members in three generations about agreement and conflict in their family lives. These twenty persons are spread over three families, where the youngest is 30 years of age and the eldest is 86 years. The interviewed persons are spread throughout Denmark, just as they have different educational backgrounds.[1] The interviews bear the character of life stories, and I have primarily focused on the description of their upbringing in their childhood home(s) and their current family life. At the same time, the interviewed persons have provided information about central events in other aspects of the course of their life. In this context, the family members have described their experiences of everyday life and the course of the week and the year in their respective families. Moreover, they have described various roles and positions in the family, as well as the quality and quantity of their mutual relations with family and friends. They have also recounted what was permitted and not in their family, as well as how this was expressed in their childhood home and in their current family life. In this connection, the interviewed persons have described how they perceive traditions and what significance they ascribe to traditions, as well as which traditions they celebrate and how. Finally, they have described who they celebrate these traditions together with. The context for the discussion of the significance of traditions must thus be perceived in the light of the descriptions of family life over generations provided by the family members.

The family members clearly attribute varying significance to traditions. Some are extremely aware of the fact that they have created such traditions in their own family, while others indicate that they miss the celebration of traditions together with their family. Finally, others indicate that the interviewer presumably knows how Christmas Eve unfolds, thus making perfectly clear their expectations about shared cultural knowledge with respect to the form and living out of these traditions. The traditions typically described by family members are events such as Christmas, Easter get-togethers and other holiday get-togethers, Whitsun, vacations, birthdays and

weddings. In other words, traditions can be connected with calendar and life-cycle rituals (Frykman & Löfgren 1996:15; Otto & Pedersen 200:3). In this article, I refer to these traditions as family traditions, or merely traditions. In recent decades, several researchers working with traditions have emphasized that it is possible to ascertain a blossoming of traditions, which can be seen, for example, in the form of grand weddings and family dinners in historic surroundings (Kofod 2005:449). My study does not provide immediate support for this observation of increased focus on tradition in family life; instead, the family member descriptions emphasize that they all more or less celebrate traditions, but their involvement in these traditions varies greatly, just as the significance attributed to them varies.

Despite this variation, there are nevertheless a number of central characteristics in the descriptions of tradition described by the interviewed persons. *First,* virtually all of them describe traditions as demarcated social events following more or less ritualized norms. Similarly, the events take place between specific persons, where the tie binding them together is often family relations. Furthermore, their descriptions emphasize that the family members' sense of togetherness – or lack of the same – in connection with these occasions is closely linked to their sense of togetherness (or lack thereof) in the course of the year.

Second, the descriptions of traditions provided by the interviewed persons shed light on the way these events are related to time and repetition, the latter factor being entirely central. Traditions are perceived as being recurring events, but the experiences of the interviewed persons with the traditions also illustrate breaks in relation to the past. Their descriptions illustrate how family traditions play out in a field of tension between, on the one hand, past experiences, which become manifest in their habits and memories and, on the other hand, in their hopes, expectations and dreams about the future.

The *third* general feature is that the experiences described by the family members illustrate more or less implicit norms and codes for the family as well as the traditions. These norms shed light on ideal conceptions regarding the family as well as the various traditions. Moreover, the descriptions of conflicts and expectations provided by the interviewed persons indicate that the family is not merely a matter of course and an objective entity, just as the same can be said about Christmas and birthdays. The analytical perspective in the article is formed in the light of that which is empirically significant; that the changes and stability become visible and assume form inasmuch as the traditions as well as the family are *lived out* throughout the year, in everyday life, through Christmas and Easter – over generations. This casts light on moral and normative breaks, conflicts and disagreements that create change and continuity.

Tradition – Social and cultural performance

As already mentioned, my understanding of the descriptions of traditions provided by family members is inspired by performance theories. Johannes Fabian, the Dutch anthropologist, proposes that "to perform is to give form" (Fabian 1990:11). This means that actions and experiences are not simply prescribed and given; rather, they are continuously created and constituted. Thus it makes sense to say that traditions and family assume form at a point in time and over time. This creation of form casts light on two analytical fields of tension, which I briefly elaborate upon in order to contribute to the reader's understanding of the central elements in the argument.

The first analytical crossfire deals with the family members' descriptions of repetition and breaks in relation to holidays and their family lives. Their respective experiences of time come to expression, for example, in their descriptions of how they miss Christmas not assuming its usual form or in their expectations, dreams and hopes for next Christmas and their family. Sociologist Paul Connerton suggests that the past is passed on and maintained via performance, as performance depends upon "social habit memory" and "bodily practices" (Connerton 1989:4, 5, 34ff, 40, 71).[2] In Connerton's perspective, memories and memory are closely linked to the formation of the individual via his or her social and cultural background, hence the concept of "social habit memory". These historical competencies – understood in broad terms – are lived out and constituted in an ongoing manner and with various degrees of success in communities. Moreover, Connerton's central point is that these learned proficiencies and dispositions are not merely remembered cognitively, but that they instead also exist in the form of embodied and ritualized knowledge, i.e. bodily practices; and this is precisely the location of the social effectiveness of the traditions.[3] In other words, Connerton is proposing that our actions and expressions unite our past with the concrete present. In an analytical perspective, they perform the past (1989:59, 83, 93). Moreover, the descriptions provided by the interviewed persons illustrate how the family members in the study more or less consciously create a sustainable sense of togetherness via the traditions; or conversely, that thoughts about the future serve to challenge and distinguish persons in the present. Our current family life and celebration of traditions thus also contain and condition the future. Connerton's discussion does not focus on the future perspective; however, I believe that the expectations and ideals for family life largely illustrate and form the current lives of the family members.

Nor is Connerton's errand to account for how change is constituted (*ibid.*: 39). I follow the Danish anthropologist Kirsten Hastrup when she states that the history of the individual is equally marked by breaks as it is by continuity. Hastrup argues that change occurs when people step into "unique" and new acts in their lives. I see these unique acts when family members de-

scribe major as well as minor changes in their family lives and in their celebrations, e.g. a meeting with a new family, falling in love, the birth of a child or illness. Their illustrations show how people redefine events and ideals for the family as well as these events (Hastrup 2004:15,27).[4] In a performance perspective, the action and experiences of the family members are thus constituted in a field of tension between past and future (Fabian 1991: 225; Rubow 2000:54, Hastrup 2004; Drejer 2000).[5]

The second analytical crossfire focuses on family relations and the social space within which they are lived out. The way the family members experience conflicts, ambivalent feelings, joys and expectations on festive occasions as well as in everyday life emphasizes that there are certain norms and ideals for how family members are expected to act when they are together, e.g. that you show up on Christmas Eve or that you help your daughter when she falls ill. These norms and opinions for the sense of togetherness in their family are expressed in different ways in everyday life as compared to festive occasions. Some performance and ritual studies draw a sharp distinction between everyday life and special occasions. Catherine Bell, an American anthropologist, argues conversely that rituals such as family traditions are forms of practice on the same level as other political and cultural practices (Bell 1992:90–91). In keeping with this perspective, she suggests that we focus on how various forms of practice instil significance upon one another instead of viewing them as sharply distinguishable forms. My empirical data also appear to indicate this to be the case.[6] Everyday life and the special occasions are, in principle, not different from one another. They are interrelated, and this "meaning-connection" illustrates the social power of traditions to include and exclude.

In a performance perspective, I therefore suggest that the family members act and experience in time and over time, to some degree as part of the specific traditions, but partly also in the sense of togetherness they experience throughout the rest of the year, which makes their past and future topical, which is also set into play with broader cultural ideas about family as well as the respective traditions. In time simply means that events such as Christmas take place between specific persons in a specific place at a predetermined time, e.g. 24 December 2007. Over time means that change is constituted more or less clearly over time, both in the family as well as on special occasions.[7]

The topical nature of the past

The manner with which family members attribute meaning to the past and the way the past manifests itself in the present is anything but unambiguous when we are dealing with conceptions concerning family and family traditions. In the following, I discuss this theme with reference to the Rosenkrans

family.[8] Lene and Kristian Rosenkrans are 59 and 63 years of age, respectively. They reside and work in Copenhagen. Both have children from past marriages, but have no biological children together. After 20 years together, Kristian and Lene both indicate that they are thriving in their relationship together.

Lene grew up as the eldest of five girls in a Copenhagen suburb. She feels her parents worked too much. Her parents started their own bakery during the war in the 1940s. The family finances were OK – they had decent clothing, good food and they celebrated Christmas "and sometimes birthdays"; nevertheless, Lene is dissatisfied with her childhood family, as she feels that her parents were far too busy. When describing Christmas, she tells of how her parents were very tired when Christmas Eve finally rolled around: "in addition to baking Christmas goodies, [they] also roasted their customers' Christmas ducks in the large bakery ovens, so they didn't have much energy left for their own family Christmas." Lene describes her own sense of loss, traditions and family life in the following:

> I remember how I was out together with my Aunt Sofie and Uncle Anders. […] I can remember it […] because I must have missed it. I loved it when Aunt Sofie said, "Now it's time for us to go to Tivoli!" […] not because I was going to get to do things, but because I loved the feeling of being cared for. […] and then we always went to a confectionery. I loved to sit in the confectionery together with my aunt. […] it was a pleasure [to be together with my aunt] – if only people thought that she was my [mother]! Because they were in control over everything […] she was the kind of person who took great care of her home. Everything was always chaotic in our home. […] but I can remember, when I was together with my aunt, we always went to the confectionery. My aunt would ask: "Well Lene, which cake are we going to have today?" "A Tivoli cake" I responded. "Yes", she said, "we must have Tivoli cakes" [said with great enthusiasm]. "Yes, Lene, we will have Tivoli cakes!" The thing about it was that there was something that repeated itself. To this day, when I see a Tivoli cake – they are hardly made anymore – I just have to go inside and buy a Tivoli cake. I suppose it is kind of sentimental, right? But it has to do with the fact that I probably wanted what I could see that my friends were experiencing – where mom was at home […] and there were homemade buns and bread. […] I must have missed that. In my adult life, I have become a tradition freak."

Lene's ideals about the family are associated with being "in control over things". There is a mother, who "takes care of the home" and has the time to get involved with the lives of her children. The Tivoli cake becomes a symbol of this meaning in Lene's life; to a great degree also in a bodily sense. The bodily meaning manifests itself, for example, in that Lene *must* buy a Tivoli cake when she sees one. At the same time, it is clear that Lene associates these bodily experiences with fantasies about the family and family traditions. Connerton's perspective emphasizes that social norms and a sense of belonging are remembered (learned) – embodied via repeated actions (Connerton 1989:5,40). In this connection, Lene emphasizes how she has longed for "intimacy, closeness and traditions" in her upbringing.

Lene's past forms the background for her existing norms and ideals for family life, which she also underlines inasmuch as she has become a "traditions freak". It is thus obvious how Lene's upbringing serves both as contrast and continuity in her own life. Lene's current life can be traced back to a specific family history and to broader social and cultural tendencies in Denmark in the 1940s and 50s. At that time, many families in the growing middle class were occupied with creating better financial conditions within the home than they had experienced in their own childhood homes (Nielsen 1996:137). These conditions in Lene's family have meant that she has experienced less social and emotional intimacy in her family. However, her experiences also manifest other tendencies from her upbringing. In her encounter with her aunt and childhood friends, she has experienced different ways of "being a family". Through her upbringing, in the words of Hastrup, she has "stepped into new actions" – different cultural and social spaces of experience. These spaces of experience indicate how the 1950s also form the background for ideals about the nuclear family consisting of a homemaking mother and a working father who provides for the family and that this unit conveys stability and intimacy (Lützen 2007; Gillis 1997).

Kristian grew up in a well-to-do, upper-middle-class family in Copenhagen. His father had his own company. His mother followed the predominant norms for middle-class family life in the 1940s and 1950s; she did not have paid work, even though she has an education. Kristian also describes how his parents:

> were very sociable. That meant that we children were very often alone and were taken care of by a babysitter. I developed a close relationship to this babysitter, and continued to see her until she passed away.

Kristian does not describe directly a sense of emotional neglect in his upbringing, but he does not hide that the children were not included in many of the adult social activities in the upper-middle- class milieu in which he grew up. This meant that he developed a "close" emotional relationship to his babysitter. Kristian also describes how, while a student, he read Elsa Gress's book: "The Undiscovered Gender" (*Det uopdagede køn*). The book had a radical impact on his perspective on gender roles and family. He thus stepped into a new "act" (Hastrup 2004), thereby redefining his views on gender and the division of labour between the sexes; within a marital relationship as well as their roles in the labour market. As such, Kristian attempts to live his family life differently from his parents by actively participating in the work around the house, including an active role in raising and caring for his children.

Both Lene and Kristian have been through divorce. They describe how they have each attempted to live out their ideal family lives in their earlier relationships. Kristian describes how he and his ex-wife "lived more and more isolated within their family." This also became apparent in the way

they practised traditions in the family; they celebrated birthdays together with the rest of the family, Christmas and Easter less so. Lene describes how there were so many conflicts in her previous marriage that "there just wasn't enough peace and quiet to establish traditions together." In other words, Lene and Kristian have both experienced – in each their own way – that their respective upbringings form the background for conflicts they experienced in their earlier relationships. The family traditions are reduced to and experienced as conflict-ridden. This example emphasizes how, in their practical lives together, they have less success living out the norms and ideals they are carrying around with them (Connerton 1989:83).

Even though Lene and Kristian have grown up in very different environments, their respective backgrounds have meant that they currently hold similar ideals for family living. They both indicate how "the family is the one thing that we share in common the most". They "cultivate" the family and "spend a lot of time on it". Their agreement becomes obvious when, among other things, the children are a part of their family life in an entirely different manner than was the case in their own childhood homes. Moreover, their ideals for family living clearly come to expression in relation to the fact that it has been important for them to create abundant family traditions together. They describe how they have created traditions surrounding Christmas, Easter, Whitsun and birthdays, just as they embark upon a one-week summer vacation together every year. These traditions are practised in extension of their own respective upbringings, but their practice also demonstrates how these traditions are attributed new meaning, which precisely fits together with their norms, moral convictions and ideals for family living. In Lene's family, for example, there were always a lot of people gathered together on Christmas Eve. Each year they continue to assemble more than 20 persons for Christmas Eve in the Rosenkrans family. Christmas is formed in extension of Kristian's upbringing. Lene refers to this as a "culinary orgy", but Kristian states, "you just can't do without it"; that is the way it was in his childhood. The example demonstrates how tradition as well as family patterns change and convey continuity in the Rosenkrans family. These changes are described as cleavage planes between their own family experiences and in the encounter with other experiences, such as Kristian's sense of being excluded as a child and his reading of "The Undiscovered Gender"; or Lene's experiences with Tivoli cakes. These are just a few of the examples of experiences that are about ambivalence and new discoveries in relation to norms and ideas about families and traditions. Lene's Tivoli cake tradition is an experience that attains decisive significance for how Lene explains her aspirations and wishes for her family and traditions.

The past is reflected more or less consciously in the descriptions of tradition provided by the family members. Kristian and Lene are examples of persons who are very deliberate, while other persons practise these same

events in a less deliberate manner. In Connerton's perspective, however, the past always comes into play, as the past provides the conditions for our actions in the present. Even the persons who do not immediately attribute any great significance to traditions for their family life pretty much take it for granted that I, the interviewer, know how Christmas, Easter and other holidays take place. Their descriptions indicate that the traditions convey norms and values for their sense of togetherness in the family, which connects and separates them over time. As stated by an 86-year-old man, both grandfather and great-grandfather: "we do the same thing in my family – the same thing happens. We get married and establish a family – I did it, my children did it – and now my grandchildren." This man is right in many respects. He describes the fundamental phenomenon – reproduction – the formation of family and lineage. Upon closer scrutiny, however, it becomes apparent that his actions and experiences demonstrate that establishing a family and the traditions within the family do not merely take place the same way. Not all of the family members see one another equally, which he explains as being due to internal disagreements. Furthermore, he explains how he and his wife occasionally travel abroad over Christmas, as they did not feel that they were able to satisfy everyone in the family. This example demonstrates that traditions are passed on, even though the persons are not particularly aware of doing so, just as traditions and family life change, despite the fact that the persons involved are not aware of these changes or attribute any great significance to these changes in relation to their sense of family. Connerton's contribution in *How Societies Remember* is therefore enriching. The bodily experience of one's family history is negotiated and shifts over time, thus revealing how this story forms the background for more or less success in our current family life. In this context, it therefore makes no sense to follow the distinction drawn by the Invention School between "genuine" (unreflected) and "artificial" (deliberate) traditions (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983; Keesing & Tonkinson 1982; Kvale 2004:306; Otto & Pedersen 2005:13; Kofod 2005:18). Genuine, unreflected traditions do not exist. Instead, the family members reflect more or less about the significance of traditions. Moreover, traditions are not only created deliberately. This awareness is created in the meeting with historical experiences, as demonstrated by Lene and Kristian's descriptions. This creation requires that it is carried out together with others, in other words, that the experiences and actions of others have decisive significance for the success of traditions. Lene and Kristian both went through divorce for the very reason that they had been unable to create the family and the traditions that they had longed for. Handler and Linnekin argue that this distinction between genuine and spurious traditions is grounded in a false opposition between the concepts of modernity and tradition. This distinction promotes an understanding of the concept of tradition as something granted by nature and essential, which thus ought to make

some traditions more genuine than others (Handler & Linnekin 1984:273f, 281).

Gækkebrev – Family traditions and everyday life

In the following I will examine more closely the relationship of meaning between two spaces: family traditions and everyday life. Lene describes how the Rosenkrans family engages in "a little act" every year at the annual Easter get-together (*Påskefrokost*). Leading up to the get-together, Lene and Kristian have received *gækkebreve*[9] from the grandchildren, and the senders must be guessed at lunchtime – or rewarded with an Easter egg. Lene describes this acting in the following:

> Every year they [the grandchildren] send us *gækkebreve*, and they all damned well know where they come from. And we know who has sent what – if there are drawings with small flowers, then it is Nynne … sloppy cutting – then it must be Jesper. And then it all plays out at Easter. We are all gathered at the Easter lunch together with our children, in-laws and grandchildren. Kristian and I stand there in the doorway. First, we ask our son-in-law: "Hans, did you send this letter?" "No," he responds. But then there are these four grandchildren, and they know [how the game plays out], and so we say every time: "We give up. We don't know who sent us these letters!"
>
> The thing about it is that everyone knows. That is what I refer to as the game surrounding traditions. I love it. "Well who could it be, then?" […] So they [the grandchildren] are sitting there, trying to control themselves […] and then they stick up their hands, and we say: "Was it you? Oh!" The two eldest children – where the girl is nine and the next almost ten – obviously know that we know they sent the letters. But they keep a straight face. They stick to their roles. I think that is really festive!"

This description illustrates how the guessing about the *gækkebreve* always assumes a specific form. The guessing is ritualized. Everyone knows the form, course of events and rules surrounding the *gækkebrev* ritual (or learn it over time). The family members have assumed their positions. Kristian and Lene stand in the doorway. The children are sitting in a specific spot. In short, the stage is set. Next, a little drama plays out. This drama is about who has sent the *gækkebreve*, and who is to receive an Easter egg. Everyone knows the conclusion of this little drama; nevertheless, they stick to their roles as though they do not know what is around the corner. The children "control themselves". Lene and Kristian play dumb. The sons-in-law and daughters politely respond "No" when asked whether they are responsible for sending the *gækkebreve*.

Even without being there, when reading the description, one can sense that Lene and Kristian's home is humming with intensity, excitement, happiness and expectation. This little drama is full of meaning. This meaning makes a statement about the relationships between the family members (Bell 1992). They play – perform roles in which they recognize and confirm

the presence of one another and their relationships to one another. Their relationships to one another and their sense of belonging together are here given form via the guessing, "controlling themselves", and the exchange of Easter eggs. They know the final turn of events; nonetheless, the game is clearly full of tension and excitement. This excitement relates to whether everyone is going to stick to their respective roles, as they are supposed to. The excitement thereby illustrates a dramatic aspect, that being that the roles and rules of the game can be broken and that the guessing surrounding the *gækkebreve* is to assume a specific form in order for the moral implications and obligations of the game to be fulfilled. In other words, the sender is not supposed to be guessed, and the grandchildren are supposed to receive their Easter eggs.

This little drama is not only about the relationships between the family members at the annual Easter gathering. The event also makes a statement about their sense of togetherness in general, as well as the norms and convictions tying the family together. In the Rosenkrans family, the practice in their everyday life demonstrates that "they pull together" when there is illness; everyone in the family keeps in touch with one another; Lene and Kristian often take care of their grandchildren, just as they support their children financially. In the course of their everyday life, the norms and moral convictions grounding their sense of togetherness are thus manifest in practical, emotional and financial obligations and rights. The sense of happiness and intensity between the family members, as expressed at the annual Easter gathering, is merely one more way of expressing the norms for their sense of belonging to one another (Bell 1992:90). These are norms that the Rosenkrans family describe with words such as "compassion", "involvement" and "intimacy" in each other's lives.

The folklorist Iørn Piø describes how the exchange of *gækkebreve* has been known in Denmark since the 1800s. Piø explains how the *gækkebreve* were first used to "tease" people, but that the "foolery" involved turned into guessing. *Gækkebrev* exchanges proceed between persons with an already-established relationship to one another, or where persons are interested in forming a more binding relationship to one another. The persons are fooled, and questions are raised regarding their sense of belonging to one another as a means of confirming the relationship (Piø 1997:49ff). In so doing, the Rosenkrans family adopts norms and roles from a different context. They play with their relationships, which seems totally safe and only fun and affirming for the whole family.

In the Rosenkrans family, there would thus appear to be considerable accordance between the norms and ideals they live out via family traditions and in their everyday life, which fundamentally is about how they experience and practice being "a real family". Despite this sense of connection between ideal and practice, their individual life stories and sense of family

alike demonstrate that this sense of togetherness has limits that can be violated, challenged and shifted. For example, Lene tells of how her sister did not follow the advice given to her by the rest of the family in relation to cutting down on her alcohol consumption after a serious illness. In effect, the actions of the sister represented a violation of the norms of the family community. Her actions threatened the continued sense of belonging, thereby breaking the codes for their sense of togetherness. Lene describes how it was difficult for her to be in the same room together with her sister at the annual family Christmas party. This example merely serves to emphasize that the family assumes form on the basis of more or less explicit norms that can be confirmed and broken in everyday life as well as on special occasions. Connerton refers to this context of meaning as emotional structures of normative and moral control for social relations (1989:83) cf. Bell. This comes to expression inasmuch as they act in accordance with the family codes, e.g. that the sister should not smoke; that they all assume the correct positions, when the guessing is going on; that the children "control themselves"; "that they play dumb"; just as it is expected that they relate to one another in a certain manner in everyday life.

In another family, the father indicates that he doubts whether his sister is going to be coming Christmas Eve, as they have had a conflict earlier in the year. Moreover, he describes how the family has minimal contact with his father over the course of the year. As he says, he cannot teach his father to be "social, sweet and nice". Similarly, this grandfather did not respond to the *gækkebreve* sent to him by his grandchildren. The role of the grandfather in the family is also constituted in these special occasions, i.e. that he is not present Christmas Eve and that he fails to answer the *gækkebreve*. Here, the game surrounding the *gækkebreve* and the family relations takes on an entirely different character. The fun of the game and the risk of not being guessed are held by the family members, both in the *gækkebrev* tradition and in everyday life.

Family traditions thus demonstrate the norms and ideals for social relations, which are expressed both verbally and non-verbally. The ideals for the right family and the right way of celebrating Christmas and birthdays are hardly unequivocal. That which is unequivocal is that the family members break, constitute and confirm norms for family living via their practice in everyday life and on special occasions. Everyday life and these events therefore give one another meaning.

The presence of the future

The past is often ascribed great significance when speaking about traditions, but just as the past dictates conditions for how family members practise their current traditions and their family life, so conceptions of the future also

play a role in forming the current family life. For example, the current practice in the family contributes to forming the possible future scenarios in the family. The future perspective is manifest in many different ways in the accounts provided in the interviews. Some fear next Christmas, others look forward to creating their own family, where the establishment of traditions will also be important for them. Others continue to struggle for and hope that opinions and persons will change over time so that their family – including the conflict-ridden or entirely absent traditions – will be experienced differently.

First and foremost, concepts such as utopias, dreams, longings and hope are not in opposition to reality; to the contrary, they are entirely decisive phenomena contributing to the creation of present and future lives of individuals (Hastrup 2004:19). Dreams and longings cannot merely be realized off-hand; however, they contribute to the actions and experiences of the family members in the present. Second, the present life of the persons – even where hopes, dreams and future intentions do not appear particularly prominent – is also an important premise for how future scenarios unfold. Just as Connerton argues that the past becomes current via our social backgrounds and bodily practices, so also the future has significance for the present via the social and bodily expectations of the family.

These social expectations are given more or less conscious form in the lives of the family members. Anthropologist Victor Turner proposes that performance is "to complete" (Turner 1992:68; Hastrup 2004:125). He also discusses how experiences are made complete in a conclusion.[10] It is interesting to note that moral expectations contribute to the structuring of the lives of the interviewed persons. In this case, these expectations are about general ideas about "the perfect family". In the *gækkebrev* ritual referred to in the above, it becomes clear that the ritual has a moral objective. The children are supposed to receive an Easter egg. That is the way things are supposed to end. In practice, the correct fulfilment of our expectations of family life is less unambiguous. It is clear, however, that the Rosenkrans family, via their current practice, also expresses their desires for the future. Kristian states that their current involvement in the family is "parental care". He also describes this care for his offspring as an egotistical project. As he explains, he "prefers being seen and being in loving relationships than reading a book." In other words, Kristian is maintaining these relations in the present in the hopes of being able to continue to be part of these loving family relations in the future. Similarly, Lene articulates her hopes that her current actions in the family will have cyclical and future consequences, e.g. that her grandchildren will continue to visit her when they are adults – that they drop by and show off their boyfriends and girlfriends.

Louise, who has just given birth to her first child, tells of the transformation of her attitudes and actions upon meeting her husband. She had not pre-

viously imagined ever getting married. She describes herself as the ultimate "child of divorce", and while she admits that a husband is "significant", she has always imagined that "she would take care of herself". Upon meeting her current husband, however, Louise states, "I wanted to get married – I wanted the whole thing [...] it has to be us forever." The encounter with her husband has thus meant that Louise has acquired new convictions about family life. She sees herself and her current husband as remaining together forever. This has an impact on her actions. She wants to get married; her hopes about "forever" becoming cemented in the wedding ritual. There is concordance between her experience of love and the form and content of the ritual. She expresses this in the following: "it is not a dream – it is reality." Moreover, this woman describes how she looks forward to creating a family life full of traditions: "I am already looking forward to Christmas. It's so cosy. It is something about doing the same things." Referring to a past relationship, she describes how she experienced traditions as "hollow [...] where you could constantly sense conflicts and bitterness under the surface". The combination of Louise's experiences with love and her wishes for the future thus has a significant impact on her actions in the present. John Gillis, an American historian, proposes that through rituals (traditions), we facilitate the future and make it probable (Gillis 2002:4). He thus emphasizes that the actions in the present have a long-term impact on the community. American anthropologist Barbara Myerhoff makes a similar assertion: "Ritual inevitably carries a basic message of order, continuity, and predictability... By stating enduring and underlying patterns, ritual connects past, present and future" (Myerhoff 1984:306). Even though practice demonstrates that family members must constantly give form to their family, whereby the sense of insecurity regarding the conditions of family living also become conspicuous, the persons give the expectations linked to family form via the traditions. Traditions carry this symbolic and concrete meaning. They facilitate the sense of community and togetherness in the long term and, ideally, create the sense of community in the future. In a performance perspective, the family members thus perform a sense of permanence via family traditions. They are to continue to be together. This affirmation is to take place repeatedly, as Christmas, Easter and birthdays are, ideally, recurring events. As such, they must celebrate Christmas and birthdays together again and again. Next year and the year after. Via these traditions, they thereby constitute and facilitate their sense of togetherness in the future together with expectations about the fulfilment of their sense of belonging together. Kirsten Hastrup formulates the longing for permanence in the following: "The desire for duration is what motivates history in its suspended and *lived* form, between habitus and representation, on stage and elsewhere" (Hastrup 2004:151). This emphasizes the potency of traditions. The experiences of the family members with traditions indicate how it can be

constructive to abandon the distinction drawn by the invention school between genuine and artificial traditions in terms of authenticity, reflection and custom or habit, considering instead how ambivalent, conflict-ridden and joyful experiences of traditions and the social experience of togetherness are constantly at play and at stake.

Tradition – Modernity

The history of anthropological theory illustrates that the concept of tradition is sparingly debated. Amongst anthropologists, folklorists and historians, the concept of tradition has been perceived – in different ways – as cultural continuity (Kofod 2005; Otto & Pedersen 2000:3). Traditions have become classified in a unique manner as events extending backwards to something original. Traditions have therefore also been perceived as particularly important in terms of the understanding of cultural stability (Kofod 2005:20). Similarly, there has been – and to some degree remains – a widespread perception, both scientifically and in the more popular sense, of a sense of opposition between the concepts of tradition and modernity, as the concept of tradition is precisely associated with stability, a lack of change and essentialism, while the concept of the modern is associated with change, information, reflection and progressiveness (Giddens 2000:44; Frykman & Löfgren 1996:16; Kvale 2004). It is only in recent decades that it has been possible to catch a glimpse of a new orientation in the understanding of the concept (Otto & Pedersen 2000; 2005, Kvale 2004; Handler & Linnekin 1984; Glassie 1995; Frykman & Löfgren 1996; Giddens 2000; Sahlins 1994; Agergaard 2004).[11]

The sense of opposition between modernity and tradition obviously raises problems when human history and practice are scrutinized more closely. This sense of opposition is grounded in false premises (Handler & Linnekin 1984). Upon closer examination, societies that are perceived as traditional, untouched and unchanged have in reality also undergone change and do not merely represent cultural continuity. If that was the case, they would never have adapted and experienced the changes that have taken place throughout history (Højbjerg 2005:86, 112; Otto 2005:12; Kvale 2004:303, 316; Miller 1993:30). Similarly, many examples of cultural continuity on diverse levels can be found in modern and late modern society (Freedman 1996 in Wancher 2004:334; Appadurai 2000 in Wancher 2004: 335). For this reason, it is hardly difficult to follow the American anthropologist Marshall Sahlins when he proposes that tradition is a culture-specific means of undergoing change (1994).

In other words, the predominant thought about whether the modern promotes discontinuity, fragmentation and division is a truth with modifications. Instead, modernity forms the premises for change and context being

formed under different conditions than was previously the case. John Gillis writes along these lines when suggesting that contemporary mankind lives to a greater extent in imagined families than in genuine, place-bound and functional families, as was the case in pre-industrial society. The imagined family, which comes to expression in dreams and longings, represents the ideal family. The actual family is the fragmented and broken family. He links this together with late modernity, where mobility, communication and togetherness take place under totally different premises than was the case only 200 years ago (Gillis 2002:1ff). The present study brings out further subtleties in this assumption. There is no doubt that there are a greater number of different opportunities for forming families in contemporary Denmark than just 100 years ago. Modern and late modern society have created different premises for how family living is experienced, lived out, and what is at all possible. The gains made in reproduction technology, the ongoing struggle for gays and lesbians for the legal right to marry and form families, and efforts for the economic equality of men and women, including the improved opportunities to get by as a single parent, together with the notion of romantic love, are four significant areas that have challenged the existing norms and practices for forming a family. Moreover, economic and social welfare has doubtlessly improved considerably over the course of the twentieth century, where increased mobility and communication across national borders provides entirely new conditions for communities, networks and the opportunities available to the individual (Gullestad 1996; Mortensen 2007; Nielsen 1996:137). In spite of these changes in society, the descriptions provided by the family members in this study illustrate that they do not merely live in contrived, fleeting and fragmented families. Instead, the descriptions provided by the family members illustrate how they fight; rejoice; experience the joys of family life; they quarrel; they divorce; and they get together again. They are on the way. Their experiences demonstrate that continuity is still experienced and created in family formation in relation to the present. The pre-industrial age thus has no monopoly on stability and continuity in family formations; and in this connection, not on traditions as well. The story shows how, over time, the prevailing ideals for family and relations have shifted. These ideals are incorporated and expressed differently in practice, just as they have changed over time (Lützen 2007; Kofod 2005, Gillis 2002, Casten 2004).[12] In this light, body and reflection are not separate phenomena, which overcomes a sharp distinction between the conceptual pairing of modern (reflection) and tradition (habit) (Hastrup 2004:19).[13]

In the broadest sense of the word, we are all traditional in the sense that none of us invent the world anew. *We all act on the basis of historical conditions* (Gadamer 1996; Bourdieu 2000; Connerton 1989:95ff). The concept of *tradition* should therefore not be perceived as being in opposition to the

concept of *modern*. This concept is not reserved to specific types of society. The empirical data in this study have called for the analysis of traditions to open up for the understanding of how, in practice, social groupings and traditions create both continuity and change. In that light, the analysis has focused on the sense of awareness of the necessity of specifying where and how continuity and change is constituted (Handler & Linnekin 1984:274).

Conclusion

In this article, I have pursued a third position, the performance perspective, when illustrating how changes and stability take place in family formation as well as traditions. The empirically significant aspect of the description provided by the family members was that breaks and continuity become visible when both the family and traditions are to be lived out over the course of the year in everyday routines, at Christmas and Easter – over generations. This illustrates that neither the family nor the traditions are given beforehand. They are constantly being shaped. This means that the *gækkebreve* have to be sent, received and answered. Every year. These actions and traditions cast light on norms, ideals and conflicts between family members that unite and divide them over time. The generational perspective has provided unique insight as to how breaks and stability are experienced in the family and through traditions.

The performance perspective has proven to be a constructive perspective whereby the conflict-ridden and joyful human experience of family life and traditions can be encompassed, systematized and placed in perspective. *First,* this perspective has made it possible to crystallize other forms of time. I have emphasized social and embodied memory as an unavoidable condition for the family members' current experiences with family life and traditions. I have also emphasized the social expectation aspect as well as the unique manner with which traditions symbolize and specify ideas about durability and family ideals. This means that the experiences and actions of family members have – more or less – a deliberate direction. They are intended to create a good and sustainable family. *Second,* using the performance perspective, it has been possible to illustrate how decisive everyday life and traditions are in relation to the way people experience their own family. The norms for everyday life and tradition deal with how people live out "a real family". For better or for worse, traditions and everyday life therefore give each other meaning.

The performance perspective also helps manage the sharp distinction between, on the one hand, tradition understood as cultural continuity, and on the other hand, tradition understood as deliberate creation. This observation is hardly revolutionary unto itself; it is hardly even new. Nevertheless, there are a number of acknowledgements about the practical significance of tra-

ditions and contemporary family formation that I find the performance perspective is capable of illustrating in a unique manner. The concept of tradition cannot merely be perceived in terms of cultural continuity, as the sense of togetherness experienced at Christmas and Easter is not experienced in exactly the same manner by all of the family members. The experiences described by Lene and Kristian demonstrate their awareness of the significance of traditions. They both have ideas about how traditions involve a sense of togetherness, a sense of belonging. Nevertheless, they do not have an unambiguous sense of having belonged in their respective childhood homes. The one felt "excluded" while the other experienced the form of traditions as being in conflict with ideas about what a real family should be like. Each in their own way, they are living their lives in an attempt to create family and traditions. They step into new actions in which the creation of family life and the encounter with new partners have central significance for how they are able to shape family life and traditions. The life stories provided by the family members illustrate that the sense of belonging is formed in a field of tension between their experiences and ideas about how the family and traditions are experienced as good; and, conversely, how they are experienced as contrasting and embarrassing. In practice, traditions therefore also illustrate breaks. Tradition understood in terms of social and cultural performance thus proves to be well-suited to the ambiguous and shaping elements of which traditions consist in practice.

Traditions therefore do not refer to the same thing, and the notion of repetition is an ideal that does not take place in practice. Instead, the descriptions provided by the family members show that repetition is a more or less intentional attempt at doing the same thing and an attempt at creating the good family. The idea about repetition and that the same thing is to happen is, in other words, not opposed in practice; however, the notion of repetition is all about the experience and motivation for the creation, maintenance and formulation of (good) family relations.

As such, it is also impossible to reduce the concept of tradition to deliberate creation. The creation of family and traditions depends on others, their experiences, stories and hopes for the future. The distinction drawn by the invention school between genuine and artificial traditions stretches back to the notion that it is possible to trace back to an original good and ideal form, which is reproduced in an unreflected manner. My interviews indicate that even the statements provided by those family members who are not particularly reflective in relation to the way they live out their family life and traditions demonstrate that change has taken place. It is therefore more constructive to examine how the genuine and the spurious are tied to the way family members experience their sense of belonging and how this sense of belonging is experienced as being more or less genuine and right. This correctness or genuineness is not tied to a specific historical idea notion of or-

igins. This experience of correctness is tied to the sense of togetherness, the history of the persons involved, their current lives and hopes for the future in the family.

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1 This study has been carried out in collaboration with the Danish Folklore Archives (*Dansk Folkemindesamling*) and represents a continuation of a project entitled: "Enighed og strid i hjemmet – Parternes indbyrdes forskellige historie" ("Agreement and Conflict in the home – the respective stories of those involved"). In the present article, I further pursue the discussion of the significance of traditions, which was a sub-element of the aforementioned study. The respective professional backgrounds of the family members include persons working in banks, secretaries, nurses, artists, academics and a former farmer. Three of the persons have experienced divorce, of whom one has been divorced three times. One of the persons in the study is a widow, another a widower. The material is based on 36 interviews, which have been subsequently transcribed and thematized (approximately 50 hours), together with more informal time together with the informants in their homes. Warm thanks to the families who have participated in the study. Similarly, I owe my gratitude to my colleagues at the Danish Folklore Archives for their constructive criticism. Special thanks to interim managing director Else Marie Kofod and senior researcher Ditte Goldschmidt. Furthermore, anthropologists Stine Krøier, Malene Bøgesvang and Marianne Holm Pedersen have provided valuable comments on the work.

2 Habits are often associated with an individual's life stories. In this context, however, habits should be viewed in relation to the way in which they are expressed, perceived and expected in social relations, hence the term "social habit memory" (Connerton 1989:35; Frykman & Löfgren 1996:10).

3 Connerton writes against the assumption that cultural continuity is to a large extent maintained via written sources. He believes that the considerable significance of the human body as a bearer of significance for cultural continuity is overlooked (Connerton 1989). Jonas Frykman and Orvar Löfgren make a similar assertion in their writings about the significance of habits. They emphasize that habits are not merely tied to individuals, but that habits are also tied to the various groupings of persons and cast light upon them. Moreover, they emphasize how habits/physical rituals represent a means of economizing human action. In other words, everything we do does not have to be considered and learned anew; rather, the patterns of action we have already learned form our current and future actions (Frykman & Löfgren 1996:10).

4 The Norwegian anthropologist Frederik Barth similarly underlines that cultural processes are shared less than otherwise assumed. Barth refers to traditions as cultural streams; in other words, he perceives traditions as process-related cultural and social phenomena (Barth in Agergaard 2004:65, 66). The Danish anthropologist Kirsten Hastrup shifts her theoretical discussion from performance to action. Hastrup unfolds the concept of action when referring to uniqueness as opposed to repetition, which characterizes actions as opposed to the performance perspective, which has often set the focus on repetition. Nevertheless, I am inspired by her perspective and apply it in the performance perspective in order to argue why change also takes place in traditions (Hastrup 2004:15ff). One could

therefore criticize me in terms of the performance perspective for coming to deal with everything, but it is an analytical perspective through which I demonstrate how breaks and continuity are also formed via traditions.

5 In other words, the performance perspective includes a multifaceted perspective on time. It includes concrete time (calendar time), the history of the individual, family histories, broad cultural streams, as well as intentions, dreams and motivations for the future.

6 Similarly, Paul Connerton emphasizes how rituals such as Christmas and Easter also transform emotional structures of social control as specific patterns of being together more or less reflect normative and moral positions for the group or "community" (Connerton 1989:83); family traditions are thus about more than special occasions. Kirsten Hastrup argues for something similar, as she proposes that the difference in the performances on "the scene" (Christmas, Easter) and in everyday life are closely tied to the degree of their reflection, which I perceive as the direction and intensity of their attention (Hastrup 2004:20).

7 This theoretical understanding of the concept of tradition is also similar to how folklorist Henry Glassie understands the concept: "Tradition, a key to historical knowledge, is to be understood as a process of cultural construction" (Glassie 1995:398).

8 In the analysis, I make a priority of setting the primary focus on a case family: the Rosenkrans family. Via acquaintance with the family members in a case, I wish to make clear how stability and change are manifest over generations. This prioritization means that minimal reference is made to other cases, even though they contribute to forming the central background for the argumentation in the article.

9 The *gækkebreve* represents a unique Danish tradition, now most widespread among children, whereby decorated letters with small poems are exchanged. The receiver of such a letter must guess the sender; failure to do so means that the receiver must give the sender an Easter egg.

10 In his work, Turner has concentrated on analysing demarcated dramatic events. These are dramas characterized by a beginning, a middle and an end. In this light, it is meaningful to talk about performance as "completing". The act of completion casts light on the moral conclusion of the piece. The idea of completing proposes that mankind works towards goals. I am less convinced about how these "completions" are experienced in practice in the ordinary lives of ordinary people. As previously mentioned, I do not draw a sharp distinction between special events and everyday life. It can be possible to do so in theory, but in practice these delimitations can be difficult to identify. Similarly, it might not be so important to demarcate these distinctions; instead, it becomes interesting to examine how various forms of practice provide meaning for one another (Bell 1992; Hastrup 2004).

11 The concept of tradition stems from the Latin *tradere*, meaning to hand over or place something in the custody of another. In other words, the etymological roots of the word are linked to the act of handing over or "handing on" (Giddens 2000:41).

12 It is therefore not difficult to follow anthropologists Ton Otto and Paul Pedersen when they suggest that the concept of tradition can be perceived as reflexive and normative perspectives on social actions expressed in language, rituals and other forms of communication (2000:15); and that traditions deal with a complex relationship between drive, social reproduction and change (ibid.: 16).

13 In terms of method, I have not made use of participant observation in this study (due to limited time), even though I could have produced other and more data about physical expressions in this manner. Nonetheless, I would emphasize that physical actions – as they are granted forms in groups or communities – represent an entirely central condition for breaks and continuity. But even in the interviews, it becomes clear that these actions have great significance. In the course of the interviews I have placed emphasis on the questions how, who and "descriptive questions".

Computer Games as Meeting Places and as Fiction

Alf Arvidsson, Stefan Blomberg, Jonas Carlquist, Peder Stenberg, Patrik Svensson

More and more people, young as well as old, women and men, spend a lot of their time playing computer games. The Game Industry turns over billions, and its position in the media society of today means that this form of entertainment has a steady rising importance in the everyday life of many. Every game is a simulated room of experience where a playful examination of virtual worlds and joyful experiences of fear, action, adventure, learning, problem solving, tactic and strategic challenges etc. can be made. The Internet especially has been very important by creating possibilities for connected people from the nearly the whole world to meet in cyberspace. With the expansion of the net, the computer has come to function as a key to new social arenas, which has made the growth of new forms of cultural communities possible. Today almost every game on the market can be played online, and the phenomenon has grown explosively in a few years. What was previously a (relatively) individual pastime has thereby become a social activity, which has given rise to new forms of game cultures and social contexts. Computer games can also be a medium of communication that connects people from the whole world in common virtual spaces, but they are also a form of fiction that both resembles and also in many ways detracts from more traditional narrative forms. One can speak of a new form of textuality, and thereby also questions of narrativity, interaction and not least participation become important when one tries to create understanding for these forms of digital narrative.

In the research project "Computer games as meeting-place and fiction form: Beyond simulated reality and traditional narrative", we have studied computer games in their double nature of medium and community (text and context).[1] The project has mainly been of a methodological nature: how should computer games be understood and studied? What restraints are there in using traditional narratological methods? What happens when gamers are to act the principles of the game? The starting point has been that

the game must be analysed in relation to the gamer, that is, the analysis cannot be reduced to the internal framing narrative but has also to consider the acting out, the experience and the gamer's role as partly responsible for the narrative. In this paper we want to present some of the basic premises and conclusions we think are important for understanding computer games as contemporary cultural phenomena, and can be profitable starting-points for further studies.

Narrative structures of computer games

A central question researchers have posed about computer games is: what is there in computer games that make them interesting? Apart from games and play being fundamental human activities (cf. Huizinga 1945; Bateson 1978), what characterizes those games that manage to capture the interest of gamers, what conventions have developed as proven, how are computer games built? A fruitful answer is that computer games bring about narratives, and thereby have a structure that is not immediately at hand but instead raises expectations and suspense about what will happen when you continue to play.

Within the rapidly growing research field of Game Studies it has sometimes been said that computer games have no narrative structure and that it is the game character that is the essential thing (Aaseth 1997; Juul 2001). Instead of narratology, sometimes the concept of *ludology* is used, to stress the primacy of play. However, we instead claim, along with scholars such as Janet Murray (1997), that computer games in general have narrative structures. Many games are founded on a course of events that have to come in a specific order to release tensions and antagonisms in a tale world. The main character has a long-term goal, meets different obstacles on the road, but overcomes them and is thereby transformed into something different from when the story began. At the same time, computer games also show many deviations from traditional narrative media. Here both the material possibilities of the digital media and the action possibilities of the gamer are qualifications for different forms.

A similarity to "ordinary" narratives is that the responsibility for the action ultimately lies with an external narrator who is visible, for instance, in video sequences and in the framing narrative, but otherwise is invisible (cf. Howells 2002). The gamer's task is to make way for the narrator. An "author" has created a predestined course of actions. If you have enough ludological competence the narrative can end in only one way; the potential narrative can be realized (Carlquist 2002b:125).

Janet Murray in her book *Hamlet on the Holodeck* presents what she calls the *multiform narrative*. Such a narrative has more than one entrance, many different branches and no definitive ending. It transcends our limits for time

and possible courses of action. A multiform narrative makes us aware of other possible selves, other possible worlds, of alternative writings of history. Multiform narratives occur most prominently in computer and video games but Murray suggests, maybe somewhat hopefully, that the possibilities within this type of narrative in the future will also inspire authors and film directors (cf. Murray 1997:30f).

Murray further on claims that games and narratives have two things in common, on the one hand contest, that is "the meeting of opponents in pursuit of mutually exclusive aims" (2004:2), on the other hand *puzzle,* where "the challenge is to the mind, and the pacing is often one of openended rearranging rather than turn-based moves" (2004:2f).

The problem of the narrative quality of computer games has also been discussed by the American film and ICT researcher Henry Jenkins in a balanced way. Jenkins claims for instance that (1) not all games narrate; (2) however, many games have narrative ambitions, (3) but narrative analyses of these do not have to be prescriptive; (4) the experience of playing a computer game can never be reduced to the experience of a story, and (5) if the games tell stories, they don't do it in the same ways as other media do (Jenkins 2003:119f). In Jenkins' perspective, game designers don't primarily tell stories, they create worlds and sculpture spaces. But Jenkins points out that in these worlds narratives can arise. Jenkins shows how J. R. R. Tolkien, Jules Verne, Homer and others also create a world where they place happenings. It is precisely literary genres such as *fantasy, science fiction, horror* etc. that normally inspire game developers, and traits from these genres are transformed to digital media. With the help of identifiable details from these genres you can create game worlds that tempt our imagination. Jenkins writes, for instance, that "The *Star Wars* game may not simply retell the story of *Star Wars,* but it doesn't have to in order to enrich or expand our experience of the *Star Wars* saga. […] Rather, the *Star Wars* game exists in dialogue with the films, conveying new narrative experience through its creative manipulation of environmental details" (2003:124).

An important difference between games and, for instance, film is that in computer games the gamer directs the hero because the digital form requires you to interact with the product, it is the gamer who has to tell the hero what to do or where to go. In film, the gazer has no responsibility for the course of actions. Interactivity has great consequences for the framing narrative. The playwriters don't have full freedom to develop the story in a particular direction, everything happens in interaction with the gamer. This interaction can take many different forms, and the degrees of directing and freedom vary between games. A high degree of freedom may create a weak story. But still, computer games usually contain narrative traits which can be analysed. This argument can also be heard from game designers. In an interview, Tom Willis says: "Even if we direct the game, we can't decide what

the gamer sees. That means we have to consider and to anticipate how the gamer will act in a certain situation. If something terrible happens and they can't see it, we have to reconsider. So it's about getting the gamer to really see and confront the dangerous" (re-translation from Swedish *PC Gamer* 97, 2005:32)

An interesting factor is *interactivity* between the gamer and the course of events in the game. The game is never a complete narrative, but presupposes the gamer's responsibility for acting through the narrative. What decides the quality of the game is not only the logic, course and composition of the basic actions; it is also the gamer's participation in the narrative. Here the role and the power of the *narrator* are weakened in comparison to conventional narratives; a game where the narrator/constructor has full control would resemble the script of a theatre play, with all the lines and actions written out. Instead every round of a game will be the product of the frames of the constructor and the acting out of the gamer; the narrator has produced a plot, but the gamer has the responsibility for its development, perhaps in a way similar to the actor in medieval *commedia dell'arte*. Here the games vary in openness/closedness. Different adventure games often have a distinct narrative structure with a given course of events and a definite ending, but the point of the game for the gamer is rather to find every new step in the narrative, than to be surprised by the action changes. For games made in an intertextual relation to, for instance, popular films this can be a composition problem; how close should the game follow the postulated model to be really experienced as an organic part of it, without the interactive possibilities disappearing?

In some online games the narrative is open, without ending; it is up to the interacting gamers to push contradictions ahead to keep the game going. But there are also ways of changing the rules and presuppositions of the game. In games like Anarchy Online and World of Warcraft the gamers have the opportunity to communicate with game developers on special forums to give suggestions for changes. There are also possibilities to send messages to representatives of the game company that maintain and upgrade the game, for instance to tell of construction bugs, mistakes in plot or dialogue etc. (Stenberg 2007). Hereby the authority of the traditional narrator position further is undermined; not only the rules of the game leave much open, even the rules for production of rules is also an open process. Another aspect of interactivity is that the computer games are developed in real time (present tense), which also deviates from conventional narratology where the past tense supposedly is the standard (Carlquist 2002).

The digital form makes situations of choice possible that are almost impossible in the printed book. The action can follow alternate lines, different chapters can follow in optional order etc. Compared with traditional narratives which can be described as linear, the computer narratives are multi-lin-

ear, which complicates analytical work; should only one, actually executed, realization/round be analysed (what does it actually represent?), or should the whole complex of possible choices be contained (and how to do such analysis in a comprehensible way?). Often, however, the multilinearity is of subordinate nature, a question of alternate plots having identical endings (Carlquist 2004). Another interesting question is what kind of empirical material the researcher uses. In our project different methods of documenting game turns have been used together with different qualitative and quantitative methods. If the gamer is considered in the analysis, this must also be reflected methodologically by observations and interviews. In this way the idealized gamer, often presumed in computer game analyses, will be problematized.

A text and a model that often is referred to – sometimes rather mechanically – in narratological studies is Vladimir Propp's *Morphology of the Folktale*; it has also been suggested concerning computer games. A survey shows that Propp's model is specifically connected to the European wonder tale, even though that genre also in part draws on early hero tales. Propp's model therefore is to be used as one of many possible tools, but cannot be presupposed as a basic structure. Also Joseph Campbell's and other scholars' models for hero tales can be used to the same extent; they can point to individual motifs and their narrative function, they can also be used more specifically in analysing games that draw upon a direct transformation of early folklore narratives, but it must be stressed that their usefulness is limited (Arvidsson 2006a). Instead, Bengt Holbek's methodology in analysing folktales, a combination of paradigmatic and syntagmatic structure analysis, can do inspiring service. An analysis of the paradigmatical structure of the taleworld shows which dichotomies can push the course of event forwards and make a narrative/game more complex than the simple plan of *x* obstacles on the road towards a goal.

Computer games as popular culture

One starting-point has been that computer games are a contemporary cultural form of expression; they are something that keep many people interested and active, you can identify a lot of important cultural values and topical phenomena that are discussed, handled, made visible, transformed through the form of computer games. At the same time they also are a part of modern popular culture as a mass media phenomenon. They presuppose mass production and mass distribution, there are a limited number of big actors who have the financial resources for development work and effective advertising. It is a commercial market, where sales figures are an important quality in assessing the value and potential of a particular game.

This appears most distinctly through the *intermediality* which is exer-

cised when new computer games get higher attentional value not only through their novelty, but also by connecting to and preferably being an organic extension of other social phenomena. There are not only games that simulate football, ice hockey or basketball with fictitious teams and players; for every new season, there are new games officially sanctioned by FIFA, NHL and WBA which contain the current leagues, teams and players. Popular films or film series get computer games as spin-off effects, or the games are already part of the total concept when the film is planned. Here an individual case raises interesting questions: how has it succeeded in changing a fixed and closed narrative into an interesting and engaging game? There are many examples of how a film that has "everything" isn't possible to transfer to the game medium in an interesting way. An interesting move was when the *Star Wars* movies had an offshoot in the game the Knights of the Old Republic. Instead of changing parts of the films to games, KotOR takes place in the same world as *Star Wars*, but 4,000 years earlier – thus an extension of the imaginary narrative world, not to produce new films but to give room for a cogent computer game.

There is also an intermediality which is established on genre level and in interplay with corresponding forms in film and literature. Sometimes words like *transmedia* or *cross media* are used, in order to emphasize the development towards contents presupposed for many mediums and platforms. This can be anything from computer games and movies to dolls and websites (Laurel 2001). Here it is obvious that it is a special world or environment that is the presupposition for the genre, and for the game it is important that such a world with its moods is created. This contains both the physical environment (exterior and interior) and frame narrative, language, actors, events, conflicts and drives, but also more general structural principles of composition. In an analysis (Carlquist 2006) of how a game (*Vampire: The Masquerade – Bloodlines*) associated with an established genre (the Gothic novel/film) Jonas Carlquist uses a model from Janet Murray (1997) where the *multiform narrative* (a general concept including computer games) is characterized by three aesthetic categories: *immersion*, *agency*, and *transformation*. Especially the category of immersion contributes in giving this game a Gothic nature; the settings are dark and forbidding, and it takes place at night. Especially two characteristic traits of the Gothic novel are to be found; the labyrinthine setting, and the use of intertextuality – important clues and pieces of information for understanding surfaces as fragments of letters or in newspaper articles.

When we characterize computer games as popular culture, it is also important at the same time to view popular culture as a dynamic phenomenon. Popular culture no longer means that a few large companies introduce a few products that are uniformally spread within a mass audience, which is thereby homogenized. On the contrary, today's popular culture can be character-

ized as a complicated interplay between homogenizing tendencies (where the mass audience can reject a broadly advertised product precisely because it has been advertised too much for its real novelty value, or because too many compromises to suit as many groups as possible have resulted in a product that doesn't suit anybody) and development of niches (which through their relative exclusivity can stand out as cutting- edge categories and thereby in turn be presented as mass products). In other words, within popular culture there are dynamics between "simple" and "sophisticated" entertainment. What can be said to characterize computer games as popular culture is that (in contrast to more established traditional art forms like literature and music, but similar to, say, sports) there are few "highbrow" forms to lend traits from which to establish a sophisticated attitude.[2] However, there is an arena for production of exclusivity called *fan culture* or *fan fiction* (Jenkins 1992; Svensson 2005) which means that fans create their own networks and also produce their own variants. Within the world of computer games this has, among other things, taken the form of *mods*, that is, modifications of existing games. Here the computer games represent an interesting interface between the mass-producing big companies of popular culture and the mass audience/users, and the appropriation of the product by the users also comprises modification and further development, and the opportunity and willingness for feedback where the game producers can integrate the users' development work in their official supply.

Another tendency that also presupposes understanding and knowledge of the field is the growth of retro-gaming, presenting old games, or new games constructed in old forms (Blomberg, in progress). "Old" acquires its special signification not only through the relative age of the games, but through representing older, more primitive technology which today is hopelessly outdated.

Here is room for the construction of game expertise by exposing knowledge of what games were popular in the past; in other words, relatively high age gives authority. But it also becomes an arena for redefining history, where games that never were commercial hits can get higher status and games of the canon can be re-evaluated.

Computer games as experience

An important part of computer games seldom considered in the discussion of what gaming really is, are the sensual experiences of gaming. What makes a difference from reading a book – apart from questions of narrative openness/closedness – is that the procedure is not mediated in a written text, with the process of verbal cognition which that entails, but through "direct" presence in an environment which is shaped by the visual impressions made by the screen and the sounds from the loudspeakers. An important concept

used among gamers to discriminate between different games is, at least in Sweden, *spelkänsla* (game feeling, play feeling). In this concept several factors derived from the phenomenology of computer gaming are understood. The inherent timing and rhythm of the game, the balance between surprise and comprehensibility, the audiovisual effects (graphics, scenery, sound effects, music) contributes to keeping concentration and tension alive. An important factor in the popularity history of computer games is exactly just how the possibilities for variation of the audiovisual impressions have increased with every new generation of technological development, from the schematic characters moving in one level in two-colour representation to simple synth music, to contemporary 3D-realism with full symphony orchestra. Above we have mentioned how the game *Vampire: The Masquerade – Bloodlines* is convincing as belonging to the Gothic genre primarily through the visual setting. Within our project different types of visual representation have been studied (Svensson 2003), with a starting point in a scale of symbolic–iconic representation continuity. The rapid technological development mentioned above has of course played a significant part in the change from a more symbolic to a more pictorial representation in the last twenty years. One could also say that "better graphics" and "realism" have been almost the primary advertising arguments in this period. Interestingly, a growing counter-movement among gamers as well as game constructors arguing against hyperrealism and 3D-representation, polygons and photo picture graphics is starting to become visible (Wolf 2003).

The use of music has been drawing nearer the conventions of film music (Arvidsson 2006b). An important factor for the game feeling is how interactive the music is with the happenings on the screen. Intertextuality with films and sports also takes shape in the soundtrack of the game. Here you can note that music which is a non-realistic feature of a film becomes a realistic feature when the film is reshaped as a game – the realism is not in the reproduction of the real life of a spy, but in making the experience of taking part in a James Bond movie. The music of the early games has also been the subject of retroactive attention, even as an independent music genre.

Computer games between fiction and reality

The Internet, especially during the 1990s, was discussed in terms of the potential new virtual reality which was now made possible. Besides the latent communities that are coming into being and the existing ones that are kept alive and are revitalized, which time has given lots of proof of, the possibilities to transcend bodily identity have attracted the greatest interest. Here computer games have contributed their special form, online games. This is a platform for meeting, and an existential frame for continuing to meet.

Within our project we have covered the question of factual gender and its virtual equivalents. Life online has supplied possibilities in debates to transcend gender, looks, ethnicity, disabilities etc; possibilities to fulfil oneself as social being beyond the limitations of the body, to some – possibilities for unproductive escapism, to others. The critical position which considers the identity work of online games escapism, builds its critique on a traditional body–soul dualism. An alternative point of view is held in a report by Peder Stenberg (2007) which is to see embodiment as a process, where the body–technology interaction offers yet another possibility of becoming. At the same time the online games offer possibilities to the individual to enlarge the limits of one's own identity, the traditional patterns recur as an interfering factor. In Anarchy Online you can start by choosing genderless or gendered race, and in the latter case man or woman. Stenberg's analysis of different game situations shows complex attitudes by many gamers towards the virtual avatars (game characters). They can be acknowledged as being in their selves, a constant subjectivation with extent and history in their own right. But at the same time it can happen that the gender, age, and nationality of the user are discussed. "Confessions" in the chat channel of the gamers' "Actual" gender etc. can create confusion about vocative form, change the interpretation and apprehension of the qualities of the avatar etc. Likewise deviant or confusing behaviour by an avatar can trigger discussion about the identity "behind". The games offer subversive as well as conservative potential.

The possibilities of social interaction through the online games aren't exhausted through the exclaimed presuppositions supplied by the game producers. Online games can be considered as new countries under colonization, where the actors come from many different places with differing cultural luggage – which is an individual asset but also a potentially collective asset; a resource possible to use in the creation of something new. At the same time interaction in the games can leak over into the gamer's existence on the outside, for better or worse. Some disparate examples will show the extended potential of the games.

Example 1

The often long time – eight hours or more – spent in online games waiting to kill an ogre to get a magic sword is a nuisance to many devoted gamers. As a result, weapons and tools have become goods that are sold on eBay and other websites; you establish a deal and choose a place in the game's geography were you meet and swap the goods in return for a money transfer made with your credit card in real life. This new form of social interaction has become a commercial concept; firms in the USA hire people in Mexico or Hong Kong for daily waged work, killing ogres and supplying virtual goods to be sold to the highest bidder on eBay. As a consequence, the online

game Project Entropia has no monthly fee; instead, the game company gets its income from selling all objects that are interesting to acquire within the game for real money.

Example 2
In the Swedish edition of *PCGamer* 76, April 2003, the online game *Asheron's Call 2: Fallen Kings* is reviewed. In the game, the characters can collect arms, keys, armour etc, but also musical instruments. The review contains a report on how some gamers used the possibilities for a jam session.

"I met a friendly soul equipped with some kind of guitar. I had a lute, and we decided to explore the splendid music system of AC2. There are ten different jingles which are all synchronized to go together and make some kind of harmony. Gamers use the instrument they have, or hum and imitate drums, and it actually sounds rather good, especially if you are some people. Furthermore, it's probably one of the best ways of making contact with other gamers I ever have encountered in a role game."

Example 3
Linda Bergkvist is an artist who uses the computer to make pictures, as well as a Sims Online gamer. In Sims Online, the gamer can design her own decorations and furniture, and Linda has used her art pictures as pictures in the homes she is responsible for on the net. Through the interactive platform other gamers have taken a fancy to her pictures, and now they are spread all through the Sims World.

Conclusion

Here, we have tried to give a brief introduction to the field of computer games and to the perspective we find most fruitful. Computer games must be comprehended in terms of their special inherent qualities. They draw upon interactivity where the gamer him/herself influences a narrative flow by steering a character. They offer scenery, not unlike films, where the audio-visual experience is one factor alongside the course of events that contributes to drawing attention and concentration. They often are a spinoff of other popular culture phenomena and thereby are a part of the gamer's everyday reality.

As communicative form, the games offer new forms of narrativity – we claim that many games draw upon narrative structures. There are courses of events, within a goal-directed frame, which when realized means a transformation of the main character. The technical possibilities that computer games use makes multiform narratives possible, which destabilizes the power of the implicit narrator; the gamer, who is also the actual audience of the narrative, is more participatory in the narrative than in more conventional narration.

At the same time, the narrative structure must be considered in the game context. It isn't narrative complexity that is the main goal of the games, but the realization, the interaction between gamer and game plan, that is the central factor.

Furthermore, computer games are one of contemporary society's most productive forms of symbolic representation, which makes them an important field for cultural research. Research within the humanities can especially contribute perspectives on the computer games' role for the production and circulation of symbols within society. How do computer games function as tools to comprehend roles and identities, concerning for instance sex, nationality, professions, or religion? What do they say, as popular culture texts, about the values and attitudes of our society, about qualities and attitudes? How do the games contribute to continuity and revitalization of historical cultural expressions, for instance through adaptations of belief legends, novels, political history? What choices and transformations are made in order to make historical matter suitable for the technology, aesthetics and marketing of computer games? Here the computer games are a new form within the classical fields of the humanities, a new (macro-) genre that works intertextually with (imitates, inspires, transforms, destabilizes) established genres.

Furthermore, computer games are a field in society where people meet, make networks, communicate, build structures of power and reliability, engage emotionally, with an *expressive form* in the centre. Here the humanities have a huge potential to contribute to the analysis of a social phenomenon, because the social pervasive force comes from the symbolic, cultural and aesthetic meanings and differences that give the individual games their worth to the gamers. As computer- and Internet-based forms, the computer games also are an important part of the "living communicative contents" of the new technology, and here the humanities can contribute an analysis of what keeps the computers going.

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1 The project ran 2003–2005 and was sponsored by the Swedish Research Council, Vetenskapsrådet. It was situated at the Institute of Culture and Media, Umeå University, in cooperation with HUMlab – the Humanities Laboratory, Faculty of Arts and Humanities, Umeå University. The research group included researchers from the disciplines of Ethnology, English, and Scandinavian languages.

2 There are alternative scenes for computer games and similar expressions within independent games, innovative games, and digital art. However, experiment games seldom break through and their influence on the computer game industry is very slight, if any.

From Rivals to Partners on the Inter-War European Scene

Sigurd Erixon, Georges Henri Rivière and the International Debate on European Ethnology in the 1930s

Bjarne Rogan

On 27 August 1937, Sigurd Erixon mounted the rostrum at l'Ecole du Louvre in Paris, where he delivered a paper on "Some notices on connections and differences in the rural buildings of Europe". The event was le Congrès International de Folklore, or CIFL, a congress that mustered the vanguard of European ethnology and adjacent disciplines, with around 300 participants.[1]

In another session, Georges Henri Rivière, initiator of the congress and leader of the forthcoming Musée National des Arts et Traditions Populaires (MNATP) in Paris, gave his views on the principles of museology to be applied in the MNATP. At the new Musée de l'Homme, parallel to the congress, Nordiska Museet – Erixon's own institution – had been invited to present an exhibition on popular culture in Sweden.[2]

The CIFL congress represents an important phase in the efforts to establish a unified European ethnology.[3] CIAP (la Commission Internationale des Arts Populaires, 1928–1964) had been founded in 1928,[4] but CIFL offered a better opportunity than CIAP had done for the different ethnological and folkloristic traditions – *grosso modo* the German-Scandinavian-Celtic and the French-Latin clusters – to meet, test one another's strength and discuss strategies for cooperation.

The aim of this article is to outline some aspects of the academic politics of ethnology and folkloristics on the European scene in the 1930s. It was a decade characterized by a strong will to cooperate and a spirit of internationalism, in terms of scholarly networks, organizations and journals. In the same years, however, with Communism as the backdrop and the rising Fascism, threatening ideological clouds hovered above these disciplines.

It is a complex organizational landscape that appears; my focus will be on the efforts to create a platform for the discipline(s), on two of the new

Le Congrès International de Folklore (CIFL), Paris, August 1937. Georges Henri Riviére (to the right) is leaving a session. Photo: PhW-1937-1424, Mussia©MuCEM.

ethnological organizations – competitors to CIAP, on their leading scholars, and on the political hindrances. The main focus is on organizational matters. However, a few words will be said about Erixon's scholarly contributions in the 1930s, since he was the foremost exponent of a theoretical basis for the science of European ethnology.

Two protagonists on the scene

To Nordic readers, the role of Sigurd Erixon (1888–1968) and his impact on ethnology in Scandinavia are well known, but less so his persistent work internationally to establish a common arena for European ethnologists. Erixon's efforts to internationalize European ethnology took two directions: theoretically oriented articles and essays on the one hand, and practical organizational work on the other. Several of his articles in the 1930s endeavoured to establish a theoretical and methodological basis for a unified discipline. His two long, programmatic articles in *Folkliv* 1937 and *Folk-Liv* 1938, entitled "Regional European Ethnology" Parts I and II, go to the heart of the matter. The scientific journals he launched were also meant as tools for raising the regional ethnologies of Europe to the level of general ethnology.

Georges Henri Rivière and Josephine Baker posing with Africain music instruments. The occasion is the exhibition on the Dakar-Djibouti expedition at the ethnographical museum at Trocadéro, Paris, 1933. Photo: Litnitzki.

Sigurd Erixon was not a stay-at-home researcher, as posterity might be deluded into believing through the bias of the biographical literature.[5] He made numerous trips abroad. We meet him in Prague in 1928, when CIAP was founded, and for the following four decades he assiduously took part in the efforts to create a platform for European ethnology. The path was full of obstacles, however, as can be seen in a letter where he gave his apologies for being unable to attend a SIEF board meeting (la Société Internationale d'Ethnologie et de Folklore, 1964–present) in Antwerp in September 1967:[6]

> I will soon reach the age of 80, which means that I decline invitations as often as I can and I refuse to accept offices. For SIEF my absence will hardly be a loss. I cannot describe all the efforts we have made earlier, as the international dictionary has come to a dead end and the European atlas is taken over by a separate organization.

During most of these forty years Erixon was intermittently in contact with the organizer of the 1937 Paris congress, Georges Henri Rivière (1897–1985). Their contacts would last until 1967–68, when Rivière retired and Erixon died. Rivière had visited *Nordiska Museet* and Skansen as early as in 1929. In October 1935 they were present at the reopening of the Berlin *Volkskunde* museum, where both were invited by its director Konrad Hahm to give speeches at the opening of an exhibition on German folk art – an exhibition that has been characterized as "giving ideological concessions to the Fascists in power" (Gorgus 2003:240).

Rivière was not a researcher and a university academic, like Erixon, but an intellectual and a strategic organizer who stands out as the foremost fig-

ure in French and Southern European museology. He was trained as a musician, but started working with exhibitions on primitive art in the museum of applied art and quickly made a career as vice-director of the ethnographic museum at the Trocadéro. Being an excellent organizer, an ability that he combined with enthusiasm, personal charm and an extraordinary capacity to create networks, he was the main architect behind the founding in 1937 of the national ethnological museum in Paris (MNATP), which he led until he retired in 1967. Rivière's great impact on other museums, on ICOM, and on the ecomuseum movement, is unquestionable. With his artistic and aesthetic approach to museum exhibitions, he earned the reputation of the "magician of showcases" (See Gorgus 2003 (1999)).

Even if Rivière's own contribution to ethnological research was modest, his impact on the discipline (which he preferred to call *folklore* in the 1930s, hence the title of the congress in 1937) was considerable. He took a keen interest in museum collections and material popular culture. Traditional folklore topics interested him less, and in many ways he professed a modernist conception of the discipline, not unlike that of Erixon. His relations to oral literature and folk belief studies – and also to "the father of folklore", Arnold van Gennep, his senior by 25 years – had much in common with Erixon's critical attitude to some aspects of C. W. von Sydow's approach to folktale studies.[7]

The latter half of the 1930s, with its left-wing political climate, represented an important period for popular culture studies in France. European ethnology/folklore, which unlike the German and Nordic countries did not have a university basis, finally got an institutional anchorage in Rivière's new national museum. But Rivière's ambitions went further than the national borders. He was well aware of the solid academic traditions of German and Nordic culture studies, and he wanted France to catch up with the lead that these nations could muster in some fields, especially in the field of cartography.

It is significant that the two published biographies on these protagonists are entitled *Utforskaren: Studier i Sigurd Erixons etnologi* [The Researcher …] and *Der Zauberer der Vitrinen: zur Museologie Georges Henri Rivière* [The Magician of the Showcases …] The one was primarily a researcher, the other a museologist. But for Rivière, however correct it might be to label him a museologist, he believed that a national museum could not become a success without a renewal of the discipline. That is why European ethnology came to be Erixon's and Rivière's common field of interest.

Our two protagonists shared one disappointment: the failure of CIAP to become an acknowledged international forum for European ethnology. Consequently, they also had one ambition in common, which was to found a new international association for the regional ethnologies of Europe. Or rather, they had *similar* ambitions, because each wanted to do it his own

way and each wanted to control the direction and the goals of the new organization that would hopefully replace CIAP. Instead of fighting each other, however (at least openly), they found – during the Paris congress of 1937 – a way of joining forces that might perhaps have succeeded, had it not been for World War II.

The backdrop: Decline of CIAP

La Commission Internationale des Arts Populaires (CIAP) had had a difficult birth in Prague in 1928.[8] The congress took place under the auspices of the League of Nations, organized by its Paris-based executive institution IICI (l'Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle) with Arnold van Gennep as the congress secretary. However, the League of Nations was fearful of the possibility that a permanent scientific organization on popular culture could become politicized by competing nationalisms. On the other hand, the League acknowledged the likely benefits of supporting such efforts for peaceful ends and the promotion of mutual understanding. They clearly saw the dangers that popular culture represented in the volatile inter-war years, with border disputes, annexation claims, and the instauration of both left-wing and Fascist regimes. In the eyes of the politicians, the disciplines of ethnology and folklore might be useful, but also very dangerous, in this period of political instability.

The years from 1928 to 1931 represented a stormy period in the history of CIAP. The League of Nations first tried to prevent the founding of a permanent organization. Losing that battle, their strategy became to secure control over CIAP. After a tug-of-war that lasted a couple of years, the League regained control – which meant, among other things, the right to appoint the secretary and one board member, and to decide the venues and to some extent the topics to be treated at the CIAP meetings. The only asset of CIAP was a permanent secretariat in Paris and a modest budget.

By the beginning of 1931, then, the League of Nations and its politicians had secured control over CIAP and its "rebellious" scientific members. CIAP had become a permanent organization, with around 30 member states, but its state of health declined very quickly during the following years. General assemblies were postponed or cancelled, and the worldwide economic crisis contributed effectively to keeping its activities at a minimum level. Most of the meetings held through the 1930s were administrative board meetings. Through one of its agencies, the International Labour Office (ILO), the League tried to enforce a policy of applied ethnology upon CIAP: that is, a policy of filling the increasing leisure time of the workers with folkloristic activities, as well as fighting the unemployment problem by the same means.[9]

Another major headache for CIAP was funding, as the allocation from II-

CI/the League was very low. But the creativity of its scientific members was also at a low level. To be associated with a bureaucracy with steadily less power and international status, and without sufficient funds, was not good for CIAP.

To this must be added the political problems. CIAP's patron – the League of Nations – was itself in a state of decline and decreasing prestige. In 1933, the president of CIAP, the German professor Otto Lehmann (Altona), had to resign as a consequence of Germany's withdrawal from the League. The Italian Emilio Bodrero took over as president. But Italy followed the example of Germany in 1937, and in January 1938 he too was obliged to resign.

The last couple of nails in the pre-war CIAP coffin came from two rival organizations that appeared on the scene in the mid-thirties. Together with Nordic, British and German colleagues, Sigurd Erixon founded the International Association for Folklore and Ethnology, (IAFE, later IAEEF), with support from the British Isles to the German-speaking countries. Another challenge came from France and G. H. Rivière, who – disappointed with the lack of French influence on CIAP, but also wanting to collaborate with German researchers – started another rival organization, the above- mentioned Congrès International de Folklore (CIFL).

A survey of a complex landscape: Journals and organizations

In the mid 1930s, three new international organizations appeared on the scene, as well as three new ethnological journals with a European scope. The emergence of all these bodies almost simultaneously – actually five of the six came into being within two years, 1936 and 1937 – necessarily created some rivalry. However, it soon became clear to those concerned that these organizations and journals had to collaborate, as they sprang out of more or less the same needs and had partly convergent aims and operated in the same market. The journals and the organizations will be treated separately in the following paragraphs, but a brief survey may serve as an introduction.

The development of the three prewar *journals* is seemingly easy to follow, but not so easy to explain – unless we look at the journals as strategic tools in certain strivings for hegemony, and also take the German situation into consideration. The first one to appear, *Acta Ethnologica* (1936), was conquered by the third, *Folkliv* (1937), though it was formally described as a merger. The second, *Folk* (1937), fused with the third, under the name of *Folk-Liv* (1938). When the war ended and the smoke cleared, *Folk-Liv* remained alone on the battlefield.

The three *organizations* joined forces in several ways, instead of conquering each other: they established a formal cooperation committee, they had sessions and meetings at each other's congresses, and they even decided

to share a journal (first *Folk*, then *Folk-Liv*) as their official organ. Also, several of the most central people led promiscuous lives, holding offices in two or three of the organizations, as did Sigurd Erixon and Georges Henri Rivière, Jan de Vries (Netherlands) and Albert Marinus (Belgium), among others. Two of the organizations (IAEEF and CIFL) fought a silent battle for hegemony on the European scene, whereas the third one (ICAES) had nothing to fear from the others, having the world and not only Europe as its scope. And they all neglected the more or less moribund CIAP.

The first of the new organizations to appear on the scene was ICAES (the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences), with a congress held in London in 1934, as the first of a regular series. The congress had no session for European ethnology and folklore, but "a number of scholars in this field had none the less been invited" and their lectures put into the other sessions (Campbell 1938). Among these were Åke Campbell (Uppsala) and C. W. von Sydow (Lund), who took the occasion to discuss with Irish and Scottish colleagues possible ways of cooperation – a contact that was one of several steps towards the Lund congress (1935) and the creation of IAEEF.

The second ICAES congress took place in Copenhagen in 1938, with a separate session for "European ethnography and folklore". Erixon and Rivière – probably the two most prominent actors in European ethnology at the time – were elected members of the Permanent Council of ICAES, to represent European ethnology and folklore and to ensure that the practice of having a Europeanist section be continued in succeeding ICAES congresses (which actually was the case until the 1960s). The 1938 ICAES congress gave the occasion for formal meetings of and between the two other organizations that had recently appeared on the scene, the Swedish-inspired IAEEF and the French-dominated CIFL. At this stage the two rivals managed to reach an agreement for a division of labour, joint commissions, co-editorship of the journal *Folk-Liv* and a plan to arrange the second CIFL congress in Stockholm in 1940.

The organizations will be revisited in the following paragraphs, but a brief discussion of some of their main similarities and differences and the division of labour might perhaps serve as a point of orientation in this confusing landscape. Whereas CIAP had had on its programme both network activities and congresses, IAEEF gave priority to network activities (archive cooperation, catalogues, questionnaires and atlas work, etc.). CIFL was also interested in some of the latter tasks, especially atlas work, but it was primarily an association for congresses, as was also ICAES. The formal agreement from 1938 actually stated that CIFL should serve as the *ordinary* congress for IAEEF, and that these congresses and the ICAES congresses (with their sessions for European ethnography and folklore) should have four-year cycles and thus alternate every second year.

There was an important difference in scope between the two rivals, in theory if not in practice. The French-dominated CIFL pursued CIAP's policy of being a global organization; this had been the initial idea of CIAP's first organizer, van Gennep, and a consequence of its affiliation to the League of Nations. However, CIFL was even less successful than CIAP in the pursuit of this aim. The initial focus of the Swedish-initiated IAEEF, on the other hand, was on North-western Europe, even if this scope was broadened following the discussions with CIFL. One might say that the focus of the two organizations converged during these few years: CIFL narrowed its scope from the world to Europe, and IAEEF broadened its scope from North-western Europe to the whole of the continent. As an anthropological association, ICAES was programmatically (and successfully) a worldwide institution; the problem was, rather, that many anthropologists of the day disdained any preoccupation with Europe.

Finally, IAEEF was marked by a certain tension – more visibly at least than within CIFL – between folkloristics and an emerging ethnology, understood as the study of material culture and social life.

Sigurd Erixon's striving for a unified science

Erixon was – much more than Rivière – preoccupied with theoretical issues. And he aimed far higher than to exchange material, translate texts and to compare across borders – the primary goal of many folktale researchers – and to draw maps. Erixon's ambitions in the late 1930s were to lay the methodological and theoretical foundations for a new science, 'European ethnology' – in the sense of a modern study of material culture and the social life of common people, to bridge the diversity of regional ethnologies and folklore studies.

Erixon's view, however, was that neither ethnology nor folklore studies could become a mature science on national grounds alone. He pleaded for a study of culture "in as universal a manner as possible" (Erixon 1948–49) that was as valid for exotic peoples as it was for Europeans, and he claimed a close relationship, based on similarities of the object of study, between European and general ethnology.[10] In this study folkloristics, and especially folktale studies, as they were practised by some of his contemporaries, played but an insignificant part.

Erixon looked westward for inspiration, and he found it in American sociology of the behaviourist school, and especially in their functionalist time-and-motion studies, in vogue in the 1930s. He argued that "it is in behaviour that the ethnologist has his main object", and he strongly advocated time measurement studies. Used with circumspection, he maintained, this method could bring forth valuable results in investigations of working life, the life cycle, etc. He was on the lookout for "a method … for measuring

Sigurd Erixon doing fieldwork in the 1930s. From the Gotland mission, 1937. To his left Dag Trotzig. Photographer unknown©Nordiska Museet.

and comparing human functions" so that "the proposition that man is the total of his activities can thus be mathematically applied" (Erixon 1938a:270, 275). Erixon himself applied these principles in extensive studies of the peasants' working year, measuring how much time they allocated to different tasks such as ploughing and tilling, haying and harvesting, mending, fishing, transporting, etc., and elaborated series of tables based on percentages and statistics.

It was in the comparative, culture-geographical approach, combined with objective techniques like time measurement, that Erixon saw the future for European ethnology. Where his points of view deviated from those of many of his contemporaries was not in the empirical and positivistic platform in itself. This platform he shared with all who laboured on the ethnological and folkloristic atlases. But his behaviouristic approach, i.e., his preoccupation with observable and functional activities, and his strong faith in data that could be measured exactly and represented statistically, were not shared by all, and especially not by many folklorists, whether at home in Sweden or elsewhere in Europe. It was the methodology, the precision and the apparent objectivity of time measurement that some functionalists advocated that attracted him, but not functionalism as such. Erixon could not accept functionalism's lack of attention to historical processes in culture; he saw no problem in studying isolated culture elements over a time span. Also, with his interest in the cultural-geographical approach and cartography, he had strong objections to functionalism's lack of interest in comparison.[11]

The strongly behaviouristic and empirical-positivistic attitude that Erixon professed in these years explains why he – the foremost exponent of a unified science – found little room for one of its main branches at the time,

the study of folkloristic material, at times characterized by Erixon as psychic, non-measurable culture elements. He was quite negative about some of the folktale research methodology and the "psychological method" professed by von Sydow (Erixon 1948–49). These methods were not compatible with his vision of European ethnology as a science on the level of general ethnology.[12] He was more positive to the philological school of folkloristics, as found in Uppsala and represented by several Gustavus Adolphus academicians.[13] However, to relegate folkloristics in general to a corner of his new science would have been an untenable position in both a Nordic and a European context, and he acquired a more acknowledging attitude towards folkloristics than some of his prewar articles might suggest.

In Paris, Georges Henri Rivière had to fight another battle, that of gaining acceptance for his choice of the term *folklore*. In a short article in *Annales d'Histoire Economique et Sociale*, edited by two of the participants at the congress, Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre, Rivière (and his second-in-command, Varagnac) claim that French folklorists lately had managed to replace the earlier "second-rate activities" associated with *folklore* by a new "science of Man". The article is very short and succinct, but it sounds like an echo of Erixon's two long articles. Rivière states that *folklore* is a branch of (general) sociology (*la sociologie descriptive*), and the only way for *folklore* to reach maturity as a science will be to follow the recipe of sociology, chiefly by turning to statistics.

To the extent that one can compare two long essays with one very short article, the main difference between them – except for the thoroughness and depth of Erixon's line of argument and the more slogan-like form of Rivière's – is that Rivière, claiming objectivity as the guiding idea but being less occupied by detailed measuring of data, proceeds directly to the study of distribution and culture areas by means of cartography and atlases. Rivière did not share Erixon's ideas about time measurement as the most objective way of establishing data. But neither Erixon nor Rivière forgot that their discipline had an historical dimension. Rivière ends his vision of the future with the following appeal to the historically-minded readers of *Annales* (Rivière & Varagnac 1936:196):

> After having laid such a basis [i.e., statistics, objectivity, cartography, …] for its edifice, *folklore* will come to understand that this access to the dignity of a science necessarily places it among the young "sciences of Man", the collaboration of which has already turned out indispensable to every historian.

Lund 1935, or the Ethnologist's Coup

In November 1935, Carl Wilhelm von Sydow hosted a folklorist congress in Lund. Even though the congress was initially intended as a specialist meeting for folktale researchers, it initiated a chain of important events in

The Lund congress, November 1935. From the opening session in the auditorium of Kulturen. First row from the left: Sigurd Erixon, Séamus Ó Duilearga, Reidar Th. Christiansen, Herman Geijer, K. G. Westman, Stith Thompson, Hans Ellekilde, Knut Liestøl. Photo: Folklivsarkivet, Lund.

European ethnology.[14] One of the most longstanding and acutely felt problems in international folklore research was the difficulty of access to folktale archive material. Comparison across geographical and linguistic borders had been one of the main approaches of the students of folktales and related material. But texts written in vernacular languages posed problems, and translations and catalogues were sorely needed. This problem had motivated the creation of the Folklore Fellows as early as 1907, and the challenge was taken up again in the 1930s, first in Copenhagen and Lund (von Sydow) in 1932, during and after a philological congress, then in London in 1934 at the above-mentioned ICAES congress (Campbell and von Sydow), then in Edinburgh in July 1935 (Campbell), and then again at the folklorist congress in Lund in November 1935.[15]

The organizers of the Lund congress were von Sydow and his apprentice Sven Liljeblad (Lund), and co-organizers were two other Nordic folklorists, Professor Knut Liestøl from Oslo and the archivist Hans Ellekilde from Copenhagen. The congress gathered around thirty researchers, mainly from the Nordic countries and the British Isles, but also from the Baltic area, Germany and the USA. The American scholar who followed most major congresses in Europe in these years, Professor Stith Thompson (Bloomington), was present in Lund as well.

Even if the initiative of the congress came from folktale researchers, Sigurd Erixon and Herman Geijer – representing ethnology and philology – had made von Sydow and his co-organizers accept putting on the programme a plan for wider international cooperation than for folktales only

(Campbell 1937:10). The participation of ethnologists was not a matter of course, as von Sydow regarded folklore and ethnology as two clearly separate disciplines, based on quite different methods. In general, Erixon and von Sydow seem to have had a good personal relationship, but on some occasions von Sydow accused Erixon of promoting ethnology to the detriment of folklore studies. Also, at this Lund congress Erixon warned against von Sydow's agenda of a "centralization programme", which included centralized, national archives in every country and translation of folktale material from less known languages to the world languages, for exchange and distribution.

Only two days before the Lund congress, a small, preliminary meeting was organized in Uppsala. In a letter Herman Geijer calls it "a quite private meeting" – to discuss beforehand one of the important issues to be treated in Lund, notably "plans for collaboration in some ethnological [*volkskundliche*] and dialectological investigations". Von Sydow had been invited but could not find time for the travel to Uppsala. In addition to Geijer, Erixon and Campbell, R. A. Gair (Edinburgh), Karl Kaiser (Greifswald), Uno Harva (Åbo) and Stith Thompson (Bloomington) were present at the preliminary meeting.[16]

However, this preliminary meeting did far more than discuss plans for "collaboration in … investigations". It formed a concrete and detailed proposal for an international organization for ethnology, folklore and affiliated branches of philology, and it established an interim steering committee of British and Swedish researchers.

At the congress G. R. Gair, president of the Scottish Anthropological and Folklore Society, reported on the earlier discussions between Scottish, Irish, English and Swedish scholars and on the role of his society and of Landsmålsarkivet (the dialect archive) in Uppsala, led by Professor Herman Geijer, and he presented the plan conceived in Uppsala. The debate that followed Gair's revelations shows that many of the folktale researchers present felt caught off guard by the ready-made plans for a broad platform, fearing that their special needs would be ignored. Albert Nilsson (Eskeröd) reports (1935:74):

> After the presentation of this comprehensive proposal, there followed an animated discussion, where uncompromising opinions met. Among the participants there were clearly three different groups. First, there were the persons who had actively contributed to the proposal in Uppsala … who wanted the congress to accept it without reservations … and leave all details to the committee. A second group consisted mainly of the researchers of folktales proper [den egentliga folkdiktsforskningen]. They were from the start rather sceptical … and claimed their specific needs and wishes … and they were not willing to leave these questions to a large committee. A third group were more passive, but interested and optimistic.

The proposal for the new international organization was finally accepted by the congress. The disciplinary scope of the new organization was as wide as

its geographical circumference was restricted. The resolution states that an "International Association for the Ethnology, Folklore and related Linguistics of Northern, Central and Western Europe" should be established. These three fields were described as "the chief branches of the discipline".[17] The council should have three representatives from each member country, in order to have all three fields represented. Herman Geijer was elected president of the board and Knut Liestøl vice-president. Three secretaries were appointed; Åke Campbell for Northern Europe and the Baltic states, G. A. Gair for Western Europe (UK, Holland and Flanders), and Lutz Mackensen for Central Europe (the German- speaking countries).

Among the tasks to be addressed was the creation of an international journal. The question of a journal had already been raised at a number of international gatherings, and Erixon urged the congress and the board to come up with a solution (see below), which in his opinion would be "without any doubt one of the most central questions for international cooperation".

Sigurd Erixon played a major role at this Lund congress, and so did Geijer and Campbell. Furthermore, the fact that the Gustavus Adolphus Academy for Ethnological and Folklife Research organized a meeting outside of Uppsala – probably for the first and last time in its history – and gave a reception for the congress delegates in Lund, underlines the role of the academy. As for von Sydow's restless fight for an international (archive) institution for folktale research, it was established in 1959 – after his death, and only on a Nordic level, through Nordisk Institut for Folkedigtning in Copenhagen (see Bringéus 2006:127ff).

IAFE – from Lund to Berlin (1936) and Brussels (1937)

Lund had offered the venue for the folktale congress in 1935, but from a Scandinavian perspective, Uppsala and Stockholm became more centrally involved in this European association.

As for the connections westward, several Nordic ethnologists took a strong interest in the Celtic area. At the Lund meeting, Séamus Ó Duilearga (Dublin) praised the influence and impact of Nordic ethnology for the ongoing study of Irish folk culture. Åke Campbell from Uppsala, with the assistance of Albert Nilsson (Eskeröd) from Stockholm, had led a field expedition in Ireland during the two preceding summers (1934 and 1935), conducting surveys of Irish farm houses and vernacular architecture, cultural landscape and rural life forms. The Norwegian folklorist Reidar Th. Christiansen and von Sydow himself had done extensive fieldwork in Ireland from the early 1920s and learnt the Gaelic language, and both had translated Irish material (*ibid.*:166ff).

However, if the Celtic fringe offered a tempting research field, Germany represented the most important scientific community, so connections south-

wards were important. As an academic centre, Uppsala has been nicknamed "the suburb of Berlin". Back to the very beginning of the twentieth century, university teaching in Uppsala covered both material folk culture and folklore, with philology (dialectology and onomastics) as an important auxiliary science, quite similar to the German tradition. The same was the case for the activities of the Gustavus Adolphus Academy (1932–). In general, the Germanic *Wörter-und-Sachen-Forschung* found a fertile soil in the Nordic countries. The outlining of the field for international cooperation that had been accepted at the Lund congress in 1935, with its three branches, bears the stamp of the academy. The folktale studies in Lund, on the other hand, relied less upon philology but had a stronger orientation towards comparative studies of motif, tradition and classification.[18]

The executive board elected at the Lund congress in November 1935 convened in Berlin in April 1936,[19] and then again in Brussels in May 1937.[20] At the Berlin meeting all the Nordic countries were represented, and – in addition to Scotland – Germany, Austria, Belgium and Holland. The name chosen for the organization was the International Association of Folklore and Ethnology (IAFE). Herman Geijer continued as president, and as vice-presidents were elected professors Adolf Spamer (Berlin) and Jan de Vries (Leiden). Several new countries were accepted as members, and henceforth the council comprised 16 nations, but only from the northern, western and central (Germany) regions of Europe plus the United States.

A couple of details mentioned in the minutes of these two meetings deserve comment. In Berlin the board decided to accelerate the date of the forthcoming 1937 Edinburgh congress, from August to July, and to accept representatives of the "Latin countries of Western Europe" to the congress. In Brussels the board opened up a broader membership basis than earlier decided – that is, the three national representatives from each country – to make it possible for individual scholars and institutes to become members. There are no explanations for these decisions in the official documents, but there can be only one reason: the anticipated competition from the French Congrès International de Folklore (CIFL), initially planned to take place in July 1937 but postponed until August. It must have been clear to both parties that some sort of collaboration and mingling would be necessary.

In Brussels in May 1937, only two months before the event, the board also decided – surprisingly – that "the Edinburgh Congress should not be reckoned as the first general Congress of the Association, but it should be a Scandinavian-British Folklore Congress under the auspices of the Association". Once again, no reason is given in the official documents, except for one mysterious paragraph in the minutes: "Professor Geijer will personally in conjunction with Dr. Campbell explain the situation to those in Edinburgh."[21]

There are two possible explanations, which do not exclude each other.

IAFE had probably realized that it might be difficult to carry through two major events, in Edinburgh and Paris, more or less identical as to the disciplinary fields to be covered and almost simultaneous in time. And Paris aimed high – and had more resources, including local political support and a World Exhibition to lean upon – because much was at stake for Georges Henri Rivière: the Paris event was planned to be a broad Europeanist congress, even with an broader, worldwide scope, covering all branches of the discipline.

But there must also have been another reason, even more compelling and even more difficult to broadcast, and that was the German problem – a problem that almost led to the cancellation of the Edinburgh congress.

In a letter to von Sydow in spring 1938,[22] Åke Campbell explains the delicate relationship to the researchers from Germany but also from Russia. The backdrop is that von Sydow was not fully informed about the deliberations within IAFE concerning the Germans and the membership question, probably because von Sydow himself still had a high esteem of Hitler and the political development in Germany – he changed his mind totally in 1940, however, when Germany attacked two of the Scandinavian countries. At the same time he was very critical of what he saw as – in his own, often repeated wording – "a decadent science" pursued by several Nazi- oriented German *Volkskundler* of the time.[23] Being a very impatient and quick-tempered person, von Sydow seems to have criticized his former pupil Campbell – now secretary of IAFE – for not having the guts to select and invite as IAFE members those German scholars who he himself did not see as "decadent", ideology-ridden researchers. The dilemma – as explained by Campbell – was whether IAFE should invite individual scholars, according to international standards of good scholarship, or ask the German authorities to appoint official representatives. In the former case IAFE would create a very dangerous situation for the elected researchers, and in the latter case IAFE would end up with German members whose research coincided with the Nazi ideology.

There had already in an early phase come up strong criticism from English researchers against IAFE, partly in the press and partly in the scientific journal *Nature*. As rumours ran, IAFE was accused of being "a clandestine, international Nazi organization, and its board was prepared to serve the Nazi research ideology, under German leadership".[24] Actually, under the editorship of Sir Richard Gregory, who took a strong interest in international scientific contacts, *Nature* gave generous space in its columns to accounts of the activities of international scientific unions. The most outspoken critics were John L. Myres and Charles G. Seligman, both famous anthropologists. This led to strained relations between IAFE and the Royal Anthropological Society in London. The Germans reacted to the British criticism, which they perceived as mainly inspired from Jewish milieus –

Seligman being a Jew – by proposing that the Edinburgh congress be cancelled. The German IAFE secretary Lutz Mackensen persuaded the Dutch Jan de Vries to raise a formal protest against the local congress committee, the Scottish Anthropological Society.

On this background, as revealed later in the private letter from Åke Campbell, we can better understand why the IAFE board only two months before the congress suddenly decided that the Edinburgh congress should be changed into a Scandinavian-British folklore congress under the auspices of the association, and not the first general congress of IAFE. This must have been perceived as the only alternative to calling the whole congress off, or to risk, as Campbell states in 1938, that IAFE/IAEEF would have been eradicated – "by this time no other international fora than the Anthropologist congress [ICAES] or the French CIFL would have existed."[25] All official documents, however, minutes from the meetings included, are silent on this vital point.

The British suspicions and criticism of IAFE, as quoted above, may today seem exaggerated. The criticism was logical, however, in the sense that the accusations were quite in line with what was the actual policy of most if not all organized German folklore of the day. German *Volkskunde* "umbrella" organizations, like Der Verband deutscher Vereine für Volkskunde under Professor John Meier (an old contact of von Sydow's), Die Abteilung Volkskunde under the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (which actually hosted the 1936 Berlin meeting), directed by Professor Adolf Spamer, as well as several other German organizational "umbrellas" or "leagues", had as their goal "the creation or annexation (or political co-ordination) of disciplinary institutes, associations, leagues, journals, series, publishers" within what has been termed *Grossdeutsche Volkskunde* (Lixfeld 1991:98).

An organization like IAFE, covering precisely the countries of Western and Northern Europe considered to be "Germanic", was a tempting prey for these Nazified organizations. Actually, one of the goals attained by the Germans at the 1935 Berlin meeting was a decision of the board (not carried through, though) to distribute a series of questionnaires from *Atlas der Deutschen Volkskunde* – then led by the Nazi professor John Meier – to all adhering IAEF countries (also observed by Lixfeld 1991:103). No smoke without some fire …

However, Campbell's letter indicates an acute understanding of the problem – at least in 1938 – and the handling of the question of the journal *Folk* underlines the independent line of IAFE.

Another clue to 'the German Problem' is that the IAFE board in Brussels decided to go on with applications for financial support to various governments – except the German.

Edinburgh (1937) – from IAFE to IAEEF

At the Edinburgh congress in July 1937 there were no Germans present, a fact that was deplored by Geijer in his presidential address (Geijer 1936:11). Also, when cartography failed to become a major subject for the council at this congress, it was probably because of a desire to put a damper on the German initiative (Berlin 1936) to distribute a series of questionnaires in the IAFE (IAEEF) countries, in conjunction with the *Atlas der Deutschen Volkskunde*.

It was decided to change the name of the organization from IAFE to IAEEF – the International Association for European Ethnology and Folklore. This meant that "ethnology" now came to precede "folklore" in the title, a change not without symbolic significance. There had been differences of opinion as to the name from the very beginning; in the editorial of the first issue of *Folk*, the new association is simply called the International Association for Ethnology – seemingly by a slip of the pen.[26] At least some of the initiators of the association had clearly divergent views of the relationship between the disciplines; von Sydow regarded folklore and ethnology as two separate sciences, whereas Erixon in the 1930s tended to see folklore studies as a (minor) branch of European ethnology

The other important change in the name of the association, the introduction of "European", may be seen against the background of Rivière's worldwide aspirations for CIFL. But it certainly also signified a change of policy, in an Erixonian spirit, towards covering all of Europe, not only its northern and western regions. The general council decided to open up for representatives from southern Europe. The abandoning of the former geographical policy is also seen in the editorial of the first issue of the journal *Folk*, published in January 1937, which stresses "the relationship in or out of Europe" of both material and non-material elements and invites the "co-operation of folklorists and anthropologists all over the world".

On one point the Edinburgh conference satisfied the old aspirations of the folklorists. The issue that was given most attention by the general council was the recurrent problem of making accessible folk tale texts preserved in national archives, and in connection with this to make the "several schools of folk tales" cooperate. A committee consisting of C. W. von Sydow, Stith Thompson and Walter Anderson (Tartu) was given a wide mandate to solve the problem of both translating "into a widely-known language the text of folk-tales preserved in all the archives" (*Folk-Liv* 1938), to have them copied and distributed, and to find the necessary funding for this enormous project. The project had long been one of von Sydow's cherished ideas. The result of the committee's work, if any, is not known. Questions of areal distribution and mapping were also treated, but the atlas question would receive much more attention at the forthcoming congresses in Paris (August 1937) and Copenhagen (1938).

The Edinburgh congress, July 1937. In the first row from the left: C. W. von Sydow, Åke Campbell, Herman Geijer (probably) and Jan de Vries. Second row, to the left, behind Campbell: Sigurd Erixon. Photographer unknown©Nordiska Museet.

Elected as the new president of IAEEF was Jan de Vries (Leiden), and as vice-presidents Adolf Spamer (Berlin) and Knut Liestøl (Oslo). Herman Geijer, who had acted as president since the Lund meeting, must have stepped down with a light heart. In a letter[27] to Knut Liestøl, he confesses that he finds the position as president too demanding, especially in Edinburgh, and asks the assistance at the meetings of Knut Liestøl and Reidar Th. Christiansen – simply because he, like quite a few other Nordic scholars at the time, was so strongly oriented towards Germany that he could hardly speak English. This confession – also repeated in his presidential address – is worth mentioning because it highlights the problem of more than one Nordic scholar in the late 1930s, when the discussion of boycotting German research milieus came up. Another incident, a curiosity that probably tells most about the weakened position of CIAP, is the council's invitation to Albert Marinus, vice-president of CIAP and one of its most skilful strategists, to become member and Belgian representative of the IAEEF council. At this point in time, CIAP was for all practical purposes moribund.

Unlike CIAP, whose charter specifically expressed *equality* between the aims of peaceful understanding between peoples on the one hand, and the promotion of scientific activities on the other, IAEEF documents stress the *scientific* aims of the organization, to the virtual exclusion of any other aims. To the IAEEF decision- makers it was not *the substance* of folklore that would serve the peaceful purposes and mutual comprehension between peoples – as was the idea in CIAP. To IAEEF this purpose would be served by encouraging scientific contacts, cooperation, and mutual sympathy be-

tween researchers across borders. "Not only will science be advanced thereby but a service will be rendered to the cause of peace" (*Folk* vol. I, no. 1, p. 3). This wording was repeated in the closing address, with the following addition (de Vries 1936:43):

> Where should the wish for mutual understanding and cooperation be more vivid than among men of science? If they should fail in trying to realize this ideal of common work in the service of civilization, who else may be expected to succeed? But now we may say with confidence that we have *not* failed. … Scholars from many different countries, working in a branch of science that is particularly liable to national prejudice and narrow-mindedness, have come together and have discussed their problems in an atmosphere of cordial friendship.

The address must be seen as a comment on the difficult political situation in Europe. An irony is that the man behind these words was Jan de Vries, the newly elected president and the chief editor of the journal *Folk* (see below). De Vries was the perhaps most important bridge-builder between the Nordic-dominated IAEEF and the French-dominated CIFL. But due to too close relations with Germany during the war,[28] de Vries – German philologist by profession – did not reappear on the scene after 1945.

Few persons, however, knew better than de Vries how difficult it was to keep the balance in these years. It was him who on behalf of IAFE/IAEEF travelled several times to Germany to discuss with individual researchers and with German authorities questions of representation, membership and journals, a topic we shall come back to.

Three new journals become one

To all parties, the question of a scientific journal was felt to be of vital importance for international contact and cooperation. A journal could create broader, more regular and more lasting bonds than (expensive) congresses and (cumbersome) travelling. A discussion of the journal question is a prelude to a presentation of the last organization, CIFL, and its negotiations with IAEEF.

CIAP never published a scientific journal before the war, and one of the frequently expressed wishes when ethnologists met in the 1930s was the establishment of an international journal.

The idea of an international journal – named *Laos*, like the post-war CIAP journal – was discussed during a visit by Swedish folklorists to Germany early in 1932. Campbell mentions in a letter in April 1932 that he and von Sydow had taken on responsibility for going on with the planning. In May 1932 Campbell writes to Lutz Mackensen (Greifswald) and reports from a meeting between himself, Geijer and Erixon, where it was decided to proceed immediately with a subscription list. The editors would be Alfred Taylor (Chicago), Mackensen and Erixon. But the editorial board needed to

be strengthened, and Mackensen was requested to propose more German and American scholars. In September 1932 Campbell reported that Erixon had received strong support from Nordic ethnologists and folklorists for an international journal, enough to launch the project, but there was a clearly expressed fear that the journal might be considered "an inter-Nordic enterprise with German connections", unless Mackensen came up with proposals for other European researchers to join the board. Erixon wanted an editor situated in Central Europe, whereas Mackensen wanted Erixon to take the main responsibility. This correspondence,[29] which expresses impatience from the Swedes towards Mackensen, invites two remarks. One is that to Nordic scholars, international contacts – still in 1932 – seem to have been more or less synonymous with (Northern) German contacts. The other is the total silence around CIAP. It is remarkable that this recently established international association, which even had a North German president, Otto Lehman from Hamburg/Altona, was not approached in this question.

The efforts in 1932 were fruitless. But in Lund in 1935 (see above) there was a broader international representation. The final session was devoted to the journal question, with papers given by Erixon and Mackensen. Erixon proposed two alternatives: if one single journal could not cover both folklore and ethnology, with their philological, psychological, etc., branches for an area so vast and diversified as Europe, one might consider splitting Europe into smaller regions, each with its own journal (Nilsson 1935:79).

The latter idea was not a new one, since one of those present in Lund, the folklorist Gunnar Granberg from Uppsala, shortly after emerged as the main editor of a new review for the Balto-Nordic region, *Acta Ethnologica*, which published its first volume in 1936. On the editorial board appeared also a couple of the other participants from the Lund congress, representing mainly the younger generation of Nordic folklorists and ethnologists.[30] Surprisingly, there was no mention of this journal during the Lund meeting; the minutes are silent, as is also the detailed report from the congress written by Albert Nilsson (Eskeröd), who himself published an article in the first issue.

Several sources confirm that the forthcoming journal was kept secret for the seniors present in Lund. Herman Geijer claims in a letter to Knut Liestøl that neither he nor Erixon or Campbell were informed about the forthcoming *Acta Ethnologica*:[31]

> Your remark about the difficulties of 'launching an abundance of journals' concerns an unforeseen worry that emerged after we left Lund. [...] We must now raise the question, which would have been both easier and more comfortable, if the architects of the new journal plans had revealed them in Lund. During the congress debate [on the journal question] they did not utter one word [on *Acta Ethnologica*] and they kept their deliberations secret.

Correspondence[32] between the editor Gunnar Granberg and his Norwegian accomplice, Reidar Th. Christiansen, confirms the secrecy of the operation. On 11 December 1935, Granberg refers to the (secret) talks during the Lund congress and reports on the finances and the contributors of the forthcoming journal; he asks Christiansen to forward his greetings to professors Nils Lied and Knut Liestøl, but adds immediately: "Secrecy should be kept only until we have secured [economically] the first issue." On 16 June 1936 Granberg writes to Christiansen:

> AE 1936:1 is released […] Munksgaard [the Danish publisher] is satisfied, and the journal has been well received here too. Even Geijer has sent his congratulations, and the jealousy that perhaps existed against AE among the *Volk*-people here in Sweden seems to be a thing of the past.

The latter statement was hardly correct. Sigurd Erixon did not approve of the journal, in spite of his recent proposal in Lund of geographically restricted journals,[33] and its very short duration tells its own tale. Erixon had made his own coup at the congress and won acceptance for a broadly composed organization, but he did not accept a coup against his own journal plans!

The aim of *Acta Ethnologica* was to cover the Balto-Nordic region, from Iceland, Scandinavia and Finland to the Baltic states (and also with some incursions into the USSR), in the editor's words "a region crossed and recrossed by a variety of cultures and waves of cultural impulses" (*Acta Ethnologica* 1936, vol. I, p. 1). Thematically it intended to publish articles – in English, German and French – on both non-material and material culture and with a focus on methodological questions. As a folklorist, Granberg had been preoccupied with mapping, or "folklore-geographical studies" as he called it, partly under the leadership of Åke Campbell. Granberg's argument was that much systematic research work in this field had recently been done in the Nordic countries, but "these results are for the most part published in the local languages, and on that account inaccessible to, and therefore often unnoticed by, international research" (*ibid.*:2). So the scope was international, even if the journal focussed on a region only of Europe. In the few volumes that were published, a balance was maintained between folklore and ethnology, but perhaps with a predilection for folkloristic subjects.

Acta Ethnologica had a short life, partly for financial reasons, but mainly because another journal entered the scene only one year later: Erixon's *Folkliv*, launched in 1937. It was a strong rival in a double sense. In spite of its Swedish name, *Folkliv* was international in scope and published in German and English. Furthermore, its editor Sigurd Erixon was Granberg's superior at Nordiska Museet, where the latter worked as a lecturer in 1937. An agreement was reached to merge the two journals from 1939, under the name of *Folkliv*, but with a clear internationalist message (and a reminiscence of *Acta*) in its subtitle: *Acta ethnologica et folklorica Europaea*.[34] The chief editor was to be Sigurd Erixon, and Gunnar Granberg and some of his

co-editors would join the editorial board. *Folkliv* kept the new subtitle for some years, but with the war Granberg left Sweden and Swedish ethnology (Svensson 1983), and the subtitle disappeared.

But other events intervened which complicated the merger, the name and the composition of the editorial board of *Folkliv*. *Folkliv* merged with another newcomer at the same time, the IAFE/IAEEF journal *Folk*, and its new name from 1938 became *Folk-Liv*, as a gesture toward *Folk*. It is perhaps more correct to say that *Folkliv* simply swallowed *Folk* as well as *Acta Ethnologica*. *Folk* had experienced an even shorter life than *Acta Ethnologica*, actually less than one year. It was intended as a quarterly, but only the first half of the 1937 volume was published. Why? It has been hypothesized that the reason was that the war was approaching (Bringéus 1983; see also Bringéus 2001). However, a closer scrutiny of the events reveals that the discontinuation of the journal was a consequence of the "German problem", but that the fusion with *Folkliv* must be seen also in the light of the struggle for hegemony in European ethnology.

From *Folk* to *Folk-Liv* – and from Leipzig to Stockholm

The journal *Folk* had been the direct result of the resolution at the Lund congress in 1935. The 1936 Berlin meeting, when IAFE was constituted (see above), decided that "a journal must be issued as soon as possible" and ordered the secretariat to proceed immediately with the work.[35] The journal was an urgent matter for IAFE, not least because of the competition from Paris: to have a journal established would be an important asset in the forthcoming trial of strength with CIFL.

On the same occasion, IAFE welcomed the establishment of "every ethnological journal that would assist our studies in any region of our activities …; without any attempt at coercion, we would hope for the most friendly co-operation, which should be of such wise as would be dictated by each set of circumstances."[36] Why such a statement? It was certainly not intended for *Acta Ethnologica*, which published its first issue the same spring. More likely, it aimed at *Folkliv*, which Erixon was now planning, with assistance from the Gustavus Adolphus Academy.

Folk appeared in January 1937, and the first issue presented the journal as the official organ of IAFE. The main editor was IAFE's vice-president, Jan de Vries – not Erixon, the grey eminence behind IAFE and the strongest advocate of an international journal. Erixon was preoccupied with his own forthcoming journal. Co-editors of *Folk* were the secretaries for the three regions of IAFE, the Swede Campbell, the Scot Gair and the German Mackensen. The journal found a publisher in Leipzig, but information about its funding is lacking. The German Forschungsgemeinschaft, which hosted the Berlin meeting, may have contributed. Of the announced four issues and

450 pages a year, only two issues (vol. I, nos. 1 and 2), containing 228 pages, were actually published. The second and last issue appeared in August 1937.

The journal was bilingual: editorials, reports or *Mitteilungen* of the association, minutes from its meetings, etc., were published in both English and German versions, and scientific articles in either English or German. Most of the articles, Erixon's own included, treat cartography and distribution, and there seems to be more material of interest to an ethnologist than a student of folklore – though half a volume is an inadequate basis for any meaningful statistical analysis. A substantial part of the journal was reserved for information, on IAFE as well as on the situation in the different member countries; this was a corollary of its function as an official organ for the association and its intended role as a bridge-builder in North- western European ethnology.

Folk was on the agenda at IAFE's board meeting in Brussels in May 1937, but the minutes state only that it should be developed with a view to an "exchange of scientific information". In the minutes from Edinburgh (July 1937) there is no mention of the journal. The journal was discussed at the CIFL congress in Paris, one month later. Here a "coordination committee" was appointed, consisting of representatives of CIFL and IAEEF, to negotiate the modalities of cooperation between the two associations. It was decided that two CIFL members, Paul Geiger from Switzerland and André Varagnac (Rivière's second-in-command in Paris), should be appointed to the editorial board of *Folk*. This decision, however, was never put into effect. Rivière reports, in cryptic and extraordinarily diplomatic language (that is difficult to translate), *before* the coordination committee had finished their deliberations in Copenhagen (1938):

> The journal *Folk* will encounter problems of a general character, which have been discussed in this committee, as a consequence of measures taken, and in a general manner, resulting from the joint work. In order to carry out the collaboration project, the Editorial Board has called upon two new members, in the person of Messrs [Paul] Geiger and [André] Varagnac, thus making *Folk* (*Folk-Liv*) the official organ of the two institutions. (Rivière 1938:116, my translation)

The decision to sacrifice the journal *Folk*, or to merge it with *Folkliv*, must have been taken soon after the Paris congress, or probably even earlier – by Erixon and those he trusted, de Vries included, and Rivière must have been informed and given his consent.[37]

No issue of *Folk* appeared after August 1937. In Copenhagen (August 1938) the cooperation committee confirmed the decision that made *Folk-Liv* the common organ for IAEEF and CIFL, hence the double name of the journal in Rivière's report, as quoted above.

The decision to sacrifice *Folk* – Strategy and politics

There was only one person in a position to benefit from the discontinuation of *Folk* after only half a year, to present an alternative journal (*Folk-Liv*) and to grant representative(s) from CIFL a place on the editorial board, and that person was Sigurd Erixon. The planning of a new journal is not done overnight; it must have been under way parallel with *Folk*. Actually, in the fall of 1936 Erixon wrote letters asking for support from Nordic colleagues, telling that the publishing of *Folkliv* now was secured through the Gustavus Adolphus Academy.[38]

But what could have been Erixon's motives for replacing the journal *Folk*, once his cherished project, by another journal? As the official organ of both IAEEF and CIFL, *Folkliv* would certainly be the ideal platform for a Nordic scholar who was critical of the present state of affairs and had a vision of what European ethnology ought to be. Generally, the course of affairs would be much easier for Erixon to control from Stockholm than from a place in central Europe.

Even if Erixon was quick to draw advantage of the situation and to gain full control in the journal question, it is obvious that the decision to discontinue *Folk* could not have been his work alone. Also, in 1932, when the question of *Laos* was first raised, Erixon preferred a German chief editor. Once again, we must seek an explanation in the political situation in the latter half of the 1930s.

In a letter to von Sydow in May 1938,[39] Åke Campbell reveals that the Germans had made it impossible, soon after the Berlin meeting in the spring of 1936, to publish *Folk* on the conditions agreed upon. His suspicions go to the new leader of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, as well as to Heinrich Harmjanz, a *Volkskunde* professor (and later SS-Obersturmführer).

Campbell relates that de Vries made a trip to Germany, probably in the spring of 1937, to check out the chances for "a dependable and reliable German representation" to IAFE and the possibilities of continuing the publishing of *Folk*. His negotiations with Adolf Helbok in Leipzig and Heinrich Harmjanz in Berlin did not lead to anything, however, neither for *Folk* nor for the German representation in IAFE/IAEEF, or as Campbell writes: "… mainly because de Vries got a very negative impression of Harmjanz. After this failure *Folk* was stopped and Germany ended up with almost no representatives on the board."

Another reason why the French might prefer the Swedish-based *Folk-Liv* to the German-based *Folk* may have been the rather aggressive Nazi sympathies expressed by the German delegation to the 1937 Paris congress, led by Professor Helbok. This may also explain the cryptic formulation in Rivière's report: *Folk* had been published in Leipzig, and it must have been felt important to keep it away from Helbok and the Nazi sympathizers.

Rivière certainly wanted to collaborate with the Germans – and far more eagerly than Erixon and the British and Scandinavian members of IAEEF – but probably not at any price.

But Rivière did not intend to play second fiddle to Erixon. Between the Paris talks and the resolution in Copenhagen one year later, the two CIFL representatives appointed to the editorial board – Geiger and Varagnac – were both replaced by Rivière himself.[40]

Folkliv had been Erixon's own initiative, but he managed to secure support from the Royal Gustavus Adolphus Academy in Uppsala. From the outset, *Folkliv* had a double aim: to promote Nordic ethnology in the European arena, as well as being a common outlet for both Nordic and non-Nordic ethnologies. A third aim, and certainly an important one for Erixon, was to use *Folkliv* as a means of raising regional ethnology to a level of general European ethnology. This is stated in the editorial, and it is hammered out in Erixon's own programmatic articles in the same journal (1937b, 1938a; see discussion above). Furthermore, it seems that Sigurd Erixon wanted to use the journal to promote a conception of European ethnology in which there was less room for folkloristics, and especially the folk-belief and folk-tale research of the Lundian school. Actually, folkloristics is given no room at all in the 1937 volume of *Folkliv*. Not only are there no articles on folkloristic subjects in the volume, but in his brief outline of Nordic traditions, Erixon circumvents folklore and folkloristics, and in his long and rather heavy programmatic articles containing his vision of what European ethnology was, or should be, folkloristics are relegated to a corner in the attic.

Erixon was compelled to stop his "boycott" of folkloristics by the 1938 volume – now re-baptized *Folk-Liv* – as a consequence of the merger with *Folk* and its function as the official journal of the two new international organizations. Erixon had been the sole editor of the 1937 volume, but in 1938 the leader of CIFL, Georges Henri Rivière, joined the editorial board, as well as the former editor of *Folk* and then-current IAEEF President Jan de Vries. The latter takes a swipe at Erixon in Volume II by stating that "as a result of the amalgamation, the two sides of our activity, ethnology and folklore proper, covering the whole domain of the material, social and mental life, are both assured of a platform" (de Vries 1938b:9).

Sigurd Erixon had manoeuvred deftly on the journal question. With his Stockholm-based *Folk-Liv* he remained the victor on the European battlefield, even if he suffered some minor defeats in his skirmishes with the defenders of folkloristics: oppositions, however, that he largely came to abandon after the war. And Rivière had managed to bypass some German colleagues by knitting contacts directly with Nordic ethnology – even though his relations to German *Volkskunde* are more difficult to assess; at his own congress, CIFL 1937, the Germans played a more conspicuous role.

The rival from the South: Rivière, CIFL and Paris 1937

The Paris congress of 1937 sealed the relations between Erixon and Rivière. Erixon gave a paper there, his museum was invited to exhibit Swedish folk culture in Paris, and the two men must have had much to talk about concerning the roles and strategies, partnership and a division of labour of their two organizations, the journal question, and probably also the rather tense external political situation that affected European ethnology.

Paradoxically, the radical left-wing climate in France as well as the national-socialist movement in Germany were sympathetic to the "folk culture" movement and its scholarly manifestations, and both proved to be instrumental for the development of the discipline of ethnology.

A pertinent question is why Rivière did not want to channel his ambitions through the Paris-based CIAP, which – theoretically – might have been revived through a French intervention. The answer is complex.

France had actively participated in the first CIAP congress in Prague 1928. The programme had been planned in Paris, and van Gennep had been its scientific secretary. As recommended by CIAP, a national committee had been established in 1928–29, le Comité National des Arts Populaires de la France et de ses Colonies, with a network of regional subcommittees.[41] But the national committee was not very active. According to van Gennep, it "met from time to time [...] for discussions of methods and scientific orientation, but without publishing anything".[42] Also, the ties between the French national committee and CIAP were weak – as was however the case for most of the close to 30 membership countries. And Rivière, on the other hand, did not consider the folklore-collecting practised by the national committee of much interest for his forthcoming ethnological museum.

Even if CIAP had its secretariat in Paris, French researchers played a minor role in CIAP in this period. Van Gennep states that "France found herself steadily more evicted, to a point of no influence, first by the German group [during Otto Lehmann's presidency, 1928–33], then by the Italian group [during Emilio Bodrero's presidency, 1933–37]".[43] For the second CIAP congress, held in Belgium in 1930, France was still preoccupied with having a scientific representation "*aussi brillante que possible*",[44] in addition to the folklore groups and performances. But from 1931, when CIAP was brought under full control by the League of Nations and its politicians, the French interest in (and influence on) CIAP seems to have declined to zero. A new organization must have been felt a better strategy.

The last and perhaps most important part of the answer is the fact that the strong German *Volkskunde* milieus were refused access to CIAP after 1933, when Germany withdrew from the League of Nations; consequently CIAP could not offer an interesting meeting place for French and German ethnology.

Rivière had several reasons for organizing a spectacular congress in

1937. On the domestic scene, ethnology and folklore had not had any academic basis in France. But in the late 1930s the vogue for national popular culture was rising quickly; public opinion was interested and the attitude of the political authorities – not least the socialist government from 1936 to 1938, le Front Populaire – was favourable. These years represented the public recognition of French ethnology and the musealization of national popular culture.[45] A new museum department under the Ministry of Culture was established and a chair in *arts et traditions populaires* at l'Ecole du Louvre was being planned (and was established in 1938). The World Fair (Paris 1937) offered large exhibitions – designed by Rivière – on popular culture from French regions. And Rivière's new museum of French popular culture would soon open its doors. But the separation of "the French collection" from Le musée du Trocadéro and the creation of a national museum was a demanding operation, and "Georges Henri Rivière was omnipresent on the Parisian cultural scene between 1936 and 1938", states his biographer (Gorgus 2003:96).

To his European colleagues, Rivière argued along the same lines as did the initiators of IAEEF, emphasizing the need to create a unified, scientific European ethnology – or *folklore*, as he chose to call it – ranging from material culture studies to oral literature. The domestic and the foreign lines of argument were by no means inconsistent: a triumph on the international scene would serve Rivière well in the home field and contribute to the acceptance of his conception of *folklore* as a "new science of Man". The anthropological milieu at the *Trocadéro*, where Rivière came from, did not hold in high esteem the activities associated with folklore. So there was a strongly felt need both to develop a science of European ethnology – or *folklore* – and to bring international recognition back home.

Documents intended for internal use show that Rivière was conscious of France's lagging behind the ethnologies of Northern Europe. Rivière uses expressions like "countries where the discipline is better organized/institutionalized" and "a terrain where many other nations have outdistanced France". He shows a strong preoccupation with what might be the French contributions, especially within cartography, and how the French contributions in general would be received by foreign specialists. During the two years of planning of the congress there was a systematic effort to strengthen French ethnology, states Rivière, and he concludes: "thanks to these scientific preparations we need not, from now on, be anxious about letting French ethnological research meet foreign, face to face".[46]

With this in mind, we can better understand why Rivière had to take seriously the arrival of IAEEF. From CIAP he had nothing to fear, impotent as it was, nor anything to hope for, with the strong German milieux excluded. But IAEEF represented a traditionally very strong cluster in European ethnology and folklore, and it managed in a very short time to establish a

scientific journal, *Folk*, a strong asset in the effort to unify European ethnologies. The international hegemony was at stake. For France, it was not an option to join IAEEF as an ordinary member. Rivière remarks in an internal note that a major reason for establishing CIFL was that IAEEF "was not willing to grant France a leading position [*une position de premier rang*]".[47] Leadership, rather than membership, seems to have been Rivière's view of the French role. Also, Rivière feared that AIEEF would focus too much on oral literature instead of material and social culture studies, an attitude that he shared with Erixon.

Why did Rivière choose the term *folklore* for a broad field of studies that comprised – according to his definition and in accordance with the scientific platform of his new museum – material culture, social structures, traditions and oral literature, and methodology?[48] Actually, he managed to make the congress adopt a resolution – unanimously – that this should henceforth be the definition of *folklore*. Even if Erixon and others did not vote against the resolution, it seems clear that the "unanimity" of the congress was due to politeness towards the host.

There was a certain tradition, in Central and Southern Europe, of using the term *folklore* to cover the study of both material and non-material culture. On the other hand, the term had come, at least in France, to be associated with amateurishness, revitalization and non-scientific collecting activities. It may well be that Rivière chose this designation mainly for strategic reasons. *Arts et traditions* was hardly an option, because it belonged to CIAP. *Ethnologie* might have been a more adequate term, but in a French context confusion would easily arise because this term was interchangeable with, and often used for, *anthropologie* in the sense of "the study of exotic cultures". Also, the term had already been claimed by IAFE.

The CIFL congress gathered together some 300 participants from 26 nations, there was official representation from several governments, and around 110 papers were given. The congress was organized in two sections, one for *Folklore descriptif*, which covered "general/theoretical ethnology", and one for *Folklore appliqué à la vie sociale*, or applied folklore.[49] The latter section was concerned with the use, or revitalization, of ethnology and folklore (folk dances, costumes, vernacular architecture, etc.) in contemporary society, in leisure activities, in schools, and so on. This part of the programme, very similar to the activities at the earlier CIAP congresses, was a necessity for any organization of popular culture that needed support from political authorities in the 1930s,[50] and fully in accordance with *la vogue du populaire* in Paris in the time of le Front Populaire. As for the scientific part of the programme, it covered both material and social culture and folklore proper.

A long series of recommendations were voted, not least concerning applied ethnology, and the congress decided to become a permanent organiza-

tion, with a French secretariat. An executive board with seven members was elected, among whom were Rivière, Erixon, Helbok and Stith Thompson. Formal cooperation between the two organizations was assured by a cooperation committee as well as a joint committee on bibliography. And it was agreed to seek to establish a joint committee on cartography and a European atlas. Finally, it was decided that the next congress should be for both organizations together, and *Folk* should be their common journal.

As stated by Jan de Vries, prominent member of both IAEEF and CIFL and a member of the editorial boards of both *Folk* and *Folk-Liv*, the congress was a very important step towards cooperation between ethnologists and folklorists from the Latin-speaking and the German-speaking camps (de Vries 1938a). The congress also represented a revival for French ethnology, and for Rivière personally it meant bringing home international laurels. The French press and the commentators were unanimous in their praise of the event.

But there were dark clouds on the horizon. As reported by Gorgus (2003), the biggest foreign delegation to the Paris congress was the German one, comprising around 30 persons. Their leader, Adolf Helbok, wanted the delegation to speak with a unified voice. Helbok's declarations, his tendency towards a National Socialist folklore and his ambitions for Germany to play a decisive role for the future congresses (he wanted the next congress to take place in Berlin) caused some conflicts. It is difficult not to see this situation as the backdrop for the steadily closer cooperation between Rivière and Erixon.

The German problem revisited

"The German problem" hides behind many of the decisions taken. This is probably also the reason why Erixon at the Copenhagen ICAES congress in 1938, through his assistant Gösta Berg and in connivance with Rivière, invited the next joint CIFL-AIEEF congress to Stockholm – whereas Adolf Helbok wanted it to meet in Germany.

During the 1930s, the main contacts of von Sydow and Campbell with the Germans had been through Professor Lutz Mackensen (Greifswald/Riga), Dr. Karl Kaiser (Greifswald) and Dr. Eduard Wildhagen (Berlin) – the two latter leading cartographers. Later Professor Adolf Spamer (Dresden/Berlin) joined the group. Mackensen had been present in Lund in 1935, and all four participated in Berlin in 1936, when IAFE was founded and Spamer elected vice-president. Around the time of the IAFE meeting in Berlin in 1936, the situation was as follows:

Adolf Spamer (IAFE's vice-president) was the head of the *Reichsgemeinschaft der Deutschen Volksforschung*, one of the above-mentioned Nazified

umbrella organizations. Spamer held a long series of important offices in the Nazi organizations, until he later lost his positions as a result of internal controversies (Lixfeld 1991:102–3).

Eduard Wildhagen, whom Campbell enthusiastically had called "den utmärkte Wildhagen" [the excellent Wildhagen] in letter concerning a visit to the Atlas centre in Berlin in 1932,[51] was by now the deputy leader of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) – another Nazi organization. It was the DFG that hosted the IAFE meeting and which soon after imposed conditions on the journal *Folk* that the Swedes and the British found unacceptable. Lixfeld (1991) describes Wildhagen as the "grey eminence" of the DFG, with a good relationship to Alfred Rosenberg, one of the chief ideologists of the NSDAP and leader of the *Amt Rosenberg* – Hitler's main tool for cultural policies and ethnic questions.

Lutz Mackensen, who had been the main contact between the Scandinavians and Germany for several years, seems to have played a minor political role, but in 1937 he too ended up in the *Amt Rosenberg*, and was immediately dismissed as contact.

John Meier (Freiburg, Berlin), *Volkskunde* professor and later Nazi leader, was one of the oldest contacts of von Sydow. When the latter visited him in Freiburg in 1937, he described Meier as a "friend since 1913" (Bringéus 2006:184–5). It was Meier who had established the *Atlas der Deutschen Volkskunde* (ADV, 1928), which was directly under the control of DFG.[52] When the Nazified ADV got the IAFE Board's permission in 1936 to distribute questionnaires – as mentioned above – in the IAFE countries, the purpose was to expand the ADV research to include the "Germanic-Nordic" and Baltic peoples.

Of the group of close German contacts and 'founding fathers of IAFE' mentioned by Campbell in 1938,[53] three – Spamer, Wildhagen and Mackensen – seem to have been on close terms with the Nazi authorities. Karl Kaiser, on the other hand, opposed the Nazi folklore ideologies and was killed in 1940. His family managed – with the assistance of von Sydow – to flee to Sweden (Bringéus 2006:187).

When Jan de Vries had his discussions on behalf of IAEEF in Germany in 1937, his problem was not only whom he could trust, but also whom he would endanger by asking them to participate. As Campbell formulated it to von Sydow in 1938:[54]

> As you will understand, it is important for our organization to help – and not to cause problems for – the representatives of genuinely scientific research in Germany. It goes without saying that we cannot place our German members and friends in difficult or fatal situations. You are probably aware of how [… NN] explained for Geijer

that a support action for him would help neither him nor his research. He asked Geijer not to complicate his situation through foreign interference. Concerning [Karl] Kaiser, we have obtained such information that we have not dared to take the risk of endangering his situation further.

Kaiser met his fate only two years later. The intricacy of the situation is underlined by the fact that NN in the quotation was Wildhagen, who probably deceived Geijer and Campbell into believing that he belonged to the other camp.

The people whom the IAEEF board chose to listen to in 1938 – Adolf Helbok and Konrad Hahm – also turned out to be researchers with some degree of sympathies or connections to the political system in Germany. Campbell openly discusses the other 'old friends' with von Sydow: Helbok was preferred – strangely enough, one might say, as his behaviour in Paris in 1937 is reported to have been rather aggressive – but nothing could be expected any longer from Spamer, Mackensen or Wildhagen. The worst fear, however, was to have some of the obvious Nazis, like Professor Harmjanz, the new leader of the DFG, appointed official German representatives to IAEEF.

Campbell and IAEEF saw no alternative to boycotting Germany in the organization, as other scenarios were even more threatening: either a French–German axis in European ethnology, or a German – Italian axis. Campbell explains to von Sydow, who still was not convinced of the danger represented by the National Socialist authorities:

We now represent even the French initiative, after the Paris congress [CIFL 1937], and I know that the French desire a positive continuation of the efforts to collaborate between Germans and French, that could be observed during the Paris congress. If we do not come to a reasonable agreement with the Germans, we will run the danger that the French will pursue their policy and establish an association directly with the Germans. I must say, however, that this danger is not overwhelming, as our connections with the French are now intimate and cordial.

It may be quite different, however, with the relation Germany–Italy. [Konrad] Hahm certainly told me that, as far as he could see, we should not fear a scientific folkloristic axis Berlin – Rome. But it seems obvious that a folkloristic union between these authoritarian states is something that we must seriously take into consideration.

With this as a backdrop, we understand how important it must have been for Erixon to secure the next congress – planned for 1940 – to Stockholm, and to keep the strategic relations with the French. IAEEF also hoped to keep contacts with reliable persons in Fascist Italy. With the authorization of Sigurd Erixon, Campbell had written to the two Italian folklorists he trusted, Rafaele Corso and Guiseppe Vidossi, and asked them to join the board of *Folk-Liv*. Jan de Vries even wanted to have them as members of IAEEF's General Council. In May 1938, Campbell informs that he has already written to folklorists in Greece and the Balkans, as a step in a hectic activity of expanding IAEEF's network. Campbell expresses a genuine fear that

IAEEF will break up if the negotiations with the research representatives of the different nations are not given top priority and handled with all possible discretion: "What will happen to the best German researchers if they are isolated because of clumsiness on our part?" is his sincere question to the still sceptical von Sydow.

Campbell's concern with Russian researchers and their problems is not smaller. He takes his master and senior, von Sydow, to task in the following manner:

> Certainly, the situation in Germany is by far as bad as it is in Russia, but we must be careful. I must mention to you that I have been informed of the risk that Russian researchers run, through even the slightest action from us. Will you dare to be responsible for criticism against the Soviet-Russian ideology in our research field, when you know that they will immediately place the responsibility on our Russian contacts? [...] I would be grateful if you could explain to me how your letter [to Sven Liljeblad] could help us in our negotiations with Berlin. De Vries proposes that we should have as our principle that every country decide themselves what sort of representation they want [in IAEEF]. This will mean that from the democratic states we will have the best researchers, and the research institutions will appoint them, and that from authoritarian states – Germany, Italy, Russia – the governments will make the appointments. Anything else is impossible, that is what I have been told from Italy, from Germany and from Russia. Do you mean that we should not follow this principle, and by our own choice – independently of the governments – appoint members from such states? De Vries and I are convinced that *no one will let themselves be appointed on such conditions*."

Von Sydow's undiplomatic advice had been to go directly to the German minister of culture and tell him whom IAEEF wished to have and whom they would not accept, in addition to making it clear that the new direction of German *Volkskunde* research was "decadent". Luckily, the IAEEF Board did not follow this advice. Campbell's last – but polite – advice to his senior was that von Sydow himself, as a private researcher, might perhaps try out his own recipe and tell the German authorities the truth: "IAEEF's foremost task being to create relations between the research of the different nations, in spite of all the all the existing antagonism."

Copenhagen (1938) – and the end of the affair

The first International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (ICAES), held in London in 1934, had given an occasion for Scandinavian and British folklorists to discuss the possibilities of closer cooperation. The second ICAES congress,[55] in Copenhagen in 1938, gave a further opportunity for finalizing agreements on the modalities of cooperation between the two organizations established in the meantime, IAEEF and CIFL. The congress included a section on "European ethnography and folklore", with Jan de Vries as co-organizer, and the theme was "the agricultural year". Among the speakers we find both Erixon ("Actual tasks by investi-

gations of the agricultural year in Nordic ethnology") and Rivière ("Croyances et coutumes de l'année agricole en Sologne"). Our ubiquitous protagonists were extremely active. Erixon and Rivière, as well as de Vries and von Sydow, were vice-presidents of the section. And both Erixon and Rivière were elected to the board of ICAES. IAEEF and CIFL held their general councils and board meetings during this ICAES congress,[56] and the cooperation committee carried through their deliberations. As mentioned in the survey paragraph, IAEEF had decided to be a network and to use CIFL and ICAESS as their congresses in a four year cycle.

At the IAEEF meeting in Edinburgh (July 1937), the general council had focussed on folk tale archives and the question of translation. In Copenhagen, however, the council of IAEEF returned to another project of greater common interest and more in harmony with the latest trends in ethnology and folklore, that is, atlases. CIFL, on the other hand, had proposed a joint atlas commission in Paris in August 1937, as well as a French-German atlas cooperation group.

Consequently, two joint commissions were appointed in Copenhagen: one to propose questionnaires for the collection of material "suitable for cartographic treatment" in the European countries, and the other for the coordination of cartographical methods used in the different countries. Sigurd Erixon was elected president of both commissions, with Erich Röhr (Berlin) as secretary for the first commission and Win. Roukens (Nijmegen) as secretary for the second. Dr. Roukens had been in charge of the atlas question for CIFL since the Paris congress, and he was to continue this work until long after the war, as secretary of the joint European atlas commission. Also, it was decided that "aims and methods of mapping" should be one of three themes for the next (Stockholm) congress of CIFL/ IAEEF.

This switch of main focus from 1937 to 1938 epitomizes a more long-term change of objectives in European cooperation, from a concern with material and accessibility to an interest in methodological questions, as well as a shift from folklore proper to ethnology in its broadest sense. And more concretely, concerning IAEEF, it may also be seen as an effect of the increasing dominance of Sigurd Erixon, professor in Stockholm since 1934.

In the 1939 edition of *Folk-Liv*, now the official organ for both IAEEF and CIFL, there was an invitation to meet in Stockholm for the next CIFL congress, to be held in August 1940.[57] In a short lapse of time, between 1935 and 1938, the two rivals had become allies, with a common scientific journal and common congresses, as well as joint committees. Åke Campbell states, in a rather dry report, that "the exceptionally cordial tone which made itself so plainly felt at the Copenhagen congress justifies the hope for the future happy development of international cooperation" (*Folk-Liv* 1938:408). It is as if the tension was finally released. But World War II intervened and put a decisive stop to the project.

Summing up – and looking forwards

CIAP was from the outset the expression of the strong will of European scholars who wanted to create a common forum for a very heterogeneous field of study. But this will had to be subject to another strong will, that of its benefactor, the League of Nations, who wanted to exert political control and to enforce a policy of applied ethnology. The result was that CIAP withered. The parallel decline of the League itself did not make matters better, and the consequence of the weakened position of CIAP was that European researchers sought other solutions from the mid 1930s onwards.

The result was IAEEF and CIFL, both international associations for European ethnology. The initiator and unquestioned leader of CIFL was Georges Henri Rivière, whereas Sigurd Erixon was the power behind IAEEF – and sometimes its campaigning general. There were differences between the associations and their policies, they had their strongest bases in different parts of Europe, and they served their leaders' ambitions in different ways. But both associations responded to a deeply felt need for creating contacts and for raising the many regional ethnologies and folklore studies to the level of a scientific discipline, a unified European ethnology. Yet these associations competed in more or less the same marketplace and needed the same membership support. In that sense they started out as rivals. Among the important tools in the striving for hegemony were international scientific journals and congresses.

This article has described the development of these two associations and their unfolding relationships, from rivalry to cooperation. A backdrop for this study (but not a theme in itself) was the skirmishes between folklorists, especially the defenders of folktale studies, and the representatives of the upcoming studies of material culture and social conditions. The period represents the coming of age of modern ethnology, and Erixon and Rivière were brothers in arms in this movement. The periodically strained relations between folkloristics and ethnology would continue to mark CIAP also after the war.

Another factor, much more important, was the growing Nazi impact on some national ethnologies, a circumstance that may explain why the alliance between Paris and Stockholm grew steadily stronger, to the detriment of German researchers and their formerly influential position. However, the role of Nazi ideology for cooperation within European ethnology is manifold and difficult to assess. Actually, Rivière himself – who before the war was considered a supporter of the French socialist movement – came under investigation after the war for collaboration with German authorities in occupied France. He was suspended in the autumn of 1944 but, unlike Jan de Vries, who suffered a similar fate, he was acquitted and resumed his duties in the spring of 1945 (see also Gorgus 2003:121–43).

The formal agreement in 1937–38 between the two new organizations of European ethnology must be considered a diplomatic achievement, in the

greater part worked out by Erixon and Rivière, who both had ambitions on the European scene. The official documents conceal many of the controversies and disputes, and not least all the problems caused by the growing National Socialist ideology in Germany, that we get glimpses of through a few internal documents and letters. When Erixon stressed, after the Copenhagen event, that "the two European organizations … work in complete harmony" (Erixon 1938: Introduction/Vorwort), one may have one's doubts. What emerged was a detailed and balanced formal agreement, which was intended to assure a strategic alliance.

We shall never know whether this fragile alliance would have lasted, as World War II shortly afterwards effectively stopped all interaction. It is revealing, however, that no one thought of resuming the alliance in 1945, nor of reviving CIFL or IAEEF. Amazingly, only CIAP rose from the ashes, this time within the UNESCO system, and with support from both Erixon and Rivière. For the next 20 years it was CIAP and its commissions that would offer a common platform for Erixon and Rivière. The themes that came to occupy them in the postwar years were atlases and cartographic techniques, a European bibliography, a dictionary of ethnological terms, a new scientific journal (*Laos*), to mention the main tasks that CIAP engaged in. Postwar life in CIAP, however, would not become less exciting, or less troubled, than before the war. There is more to the story, to be told in a future article.

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I am grateful to Professor Nils-Arvid Bringéus and Dr. Thomas Schippers for discussion and advice, and to Professor Reg Byron for language revision.

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1 *Travaux du 1er Congrès International de Folklore*. Tours 1938.

2 Gorgus 2003:108. See also the exhibition catalogue *Folklore de Suède. Exposition organisée par le Musée nordique de Stockholm*, Paris 1937.

3 The term "(unified) European ethnology" is used in a broad sense, comprising the study of material culture and social life as well as that of non-material culture – i.e. covering the thematic fields and methods of both ethnology (proper) and folkloristics. This corresponds to the way Rivière used the word "folklore".

4 For a discussion of the Prague congress, see Rogan 2004 and 2007.

5 Arnstberg 1989 gives an interesting portrait of Erixon, with a focus on his scientific work. It is however remarkable that this biography does not mention Erixon's efforts to establish the theoretical foundations of a discipline of European ethnology.

6 Archives MNATP (Musée National des Arts et Traditions Populaires, Paris). Org. app. CIAP, 1964–65–66–67. Letter of 17 August 1967 to SIEF president K. G. Peeters. Translation from German by B. R.

7 For the relations between Rivière and van Gennep, see Gorgus 2003:150ff. For the relations between Erixon and von Sydow, see Bringéus 2001 and 2006.

8 For a detailed discussion of the establishment and decline of CIAP in the 1930s, see Rogan 2004, 2006.

9 For a detailed discussion of CIAP's resistance to this form of applied ethnology, see Rogan 2007.

10 Erixon 1937, 1938a. In a later article (Erixon 1952), he maintains that European ethnology is a regional specialization of general ethnology, called "cultural or social anthropology in England and America". However, he looked to behaviourist sociology for inspiration in the 1930s.

11 Erixon 1948–49. See also Möller 1955–56 on Erixon's criticism of functionalism.

12 As for the main branch of Nordic folktale research during this period, the historical-geographical or Finnish school, he did not criticize it for its essential principle, comparison with regard to geographical factors – a principle that was also essential to his own cherished cartography. But he seems to have disdained certain tendencies of a too mechanical application of the method, also criticized by von Sydow. See also Christiansen 1937, 1955.

13 On von Sydow's difficult relationship with the folklorists of the philological school at Uppsala, see Bringéus 2001, 2006.

14 The following description of the Lund congress is taken partly from Nilsson 1935, partly from The Congress for Science of Folktales, Lund 6–8 November 1935: Resolutions/Protocol.

15 The need for cooperation among the folktale researchers in the 1930s should not be reduced to the accessibility of material only. Cooperation with regard to methods was also important, and one of the other challenges for the Lund congress was a revision of the Aarne-Thompson typology, originally published in the *Folklore Fellows Communication* series.

16 Letter of 29.10.1935 from H. Geijer to K. Kaiser, Uppsala, SOFI: ULMA, Övriga ut-

gående skrivelser 1931–1940, B1. I am grateful to Professor Bringéus for drawing my attention to this correspondence.

17 The Congress for Science of Folktales, Lund 6–8 Nov. 1935; Memoranda … p. 14.

18 See Bringéus 2001 for a discussion of the different profiles of Lund and Uppsala. Even if the Lundian von Sydow for a long time taught in Uppsala and also participated in the creation of the Gustavus Adolphus Academy, in the 1930s there were strong tensions between him and several Uppsala researchers, especially folklorists of the philological school, and to a lesser extent also between him and Sigurd Erixon (Stockholm), who was not very much interested in the folk tale research tradition that von Sydow represented.

19 The International Association for Folklore and Ethnology. Executive Committee, held on the 2, 3, and 4 April 1936, in Berlin. Minutes. *Folk* vol. I no. 1, pp. 17–23. Committee members present were Campbell, Erixon, Geijer and von Sydow from Sweden, K. Kaiser, L. Mackensen, and A. Spamer from Germany, P. de Keyser and C. L. Trefois from Belgium, R. Th. Christiansen (Oslo), H. Ellekilde (Copenhagen), G. R. Gair (Edinburgh), U. Harva (Turku), J. de Vries (Leiden), in addition to invited guests.

20 The International Association for Folklore and Ethnology, Minutes, Executive Committee meeting, Brussels May 1937. *Folk* vol. I, no. 2, pp. 200–204. New members present were P. Andersen (Copenhagen), K. Liestøl (Oslo), and among the guests we find A. Marinus (Brussels).

21 *Folk* vol. I, no. 2, p. 202, Minutes (IInd sitting, §3).

22 Lund University Library, Handskriftsamlingen. Letter from Å. Campbell to C. W. von Sydow, dated 19 May 1938. I am obliged to Professor Nils-Arvid Bringéus for having drawn my attention to this correspondence.

23 For a detailed description of von Sydow's relations to Germany, see Bringéus 2006.

24 Lund University Library, Handskriftsamlingen. Letter from Å. Campbell to C. W. von Sydow, dated May 19, 1938. Translation BR.

25 *Ibid*.

26 *Folk* vol. I, no. 1. The balance must have been difficult. In the bilingual editorial *Volksforscher* is translated as "folklorists" (p. 1) and *Volksforschung* as "ethnology" (p. 2).

27 Letter of 18.3.1936 from Geijer to Liestøl. Uppsala, SOFI: ULMA, Övriga utgående skrivelser 1931–1940, B1.

28 Rooijakkers & Meurkens 2000. Actually, de Vries's case was not considered as collaboration, but he was denied the right to publish for a certain number of years.

29 Letters from Campbell of 12.4.1932 to von Sydow, of 17.5. and 5.9.1932 to Mackensen. Uppsala, SOFI: ULMA, Övriga utgående skrivelser 1931–1940, B1.

30 The collaborators, or the editorial board, were Reidar Th. Christiansen (Oslo), Gösta Berg (Stockholm), Martti Haavio and Kustaa Vilkuna (Helsinki), Oskar Loorits (Tartu) and Kai Uldall (Copenhagen).

31 Letter from Geijer to Liestøl of 18.3.1936. Uppsala, SOFI: ULMA, Övriga utgående skrivelser 1931–1940, B1.

32 Five letters from Granberg to Christiansen, between December 1935 and June 1936. Oslo, Nasjonalbiblioteket. Ms 4, 3516, Reidar Th. Christiansen, IV Brev.

33 Bringéus (1983:229) states that *Acta Ethnologica* was badly received by Erixon. Granberg actually taught at Nordiska Museet, under Erixon, in this period (1937–40). For a biography of Granberg, see Svensson 1983.

34 See *Acta Ethnologica* 1938, p. 71, for Granberg's explanation of the fusion.

35 The International Association … Minutes, p. 22. One might have expected, for the establishment of a new journal, plans (economy, publisher, etc.) to be presented for the council. But time was apparently too short for a formal procedure.

36 Minutes from the Berlin meeting, 1936, Vth sitting (*Folk* I:1, p. 22).

37 In a report for internal use at MNATP, Rivière states that *Folk* and its editorial board were discussed in Paris in August 1937. However, the contents of the discussion is not rendered. *Rapport sommaire …, le 20 oct. 1937*, Archives MNATP.

38 Letter of 16 November 1936, from Erixon to R. Th. Christiansen. Oslo, Nasjonalbiblioteket. Ms 4, 3516, Reidar Th. Christiansen, IV Brev.

39 Letter of 19 May 1938. Handskriftsamlingen, University Library of Lund.

40 *Règlement général du CIFL*, § 4, voted in Copenhagen August 1938. Archives MNATP.

Between Rivière and Varagnac a rupture was approaching: the two formerly close colleagues were soon to cease all communication. But we do not know why Rivière replaced *both* persons.

41 Archives MNATP. The name of the national committee changes regularly; sometimes it is called *Commission* … For a period the colonies appear in the name, then *art* is replaced by *arts et traditions* (1939); and in 1942 it becomes *Commission nationale du Folklore*.
42 A. van Gennep, *Mémento du 15 oct. 1945: Comité national des Arts et Traditions Populaires*. Archives MNATP, Box 804/M. Cuisenier.
43 *Ibid*.
44 *Note relative au deuxième Congrès International des Arts Populaires. Participation de la France*. Archives MNATP, box 804/M. Cuisenier.
45 For a detailed description of the situation of ethnology in France in these years and the role of Rivière, see Gorgus 2003, chapter IV: "1937 – La vogue du populaire".
46 *Rapport ... du 8 juillet 1937*, p. 2. Archives MNATP.
47 *Rapport sommaire sur les résultats* … Archives MNATP (Dumont 5059). Probably written by G. H. Rivière, or possibly by A. Varagnac, who collaborated closely with Rivière for the arrangement of CIFL.
48 For Rivière's own arguments, see Rivière and Varagnac 1936.
49 Sources are (1) Rapport sur le Congrès International de folklore, 23–28 août 1937, du 8 juillet 1937 (Archives MNATP); (2) Rapport sommaire sur les résultats des travaux du Congrès International de Folklore, du 20 oct. 1937 (Archives MNATP); (3) Rivière 1938; and (4) *Travaux* … 1938.
50 For a broad account of the political use of popular culture, especially for workers' leisure activities, see Rogan 2007.
51 Letter from Campbell to W. von Sydow of 12 April 1932. SOFI: ULMA, Övriga utgående skrivelser 1931–1940, B1.
52 See Lixfeld 1991 for further details.
53 Letter of 19 May 1938. Handskriftsamlingen, University Library of Lund.
54 This and the following quotations: Letter of 19 May 1938. Handskriftsamlingen, University Library of Lund.
55 For a report on the ICAES congresses, see *Folk-Liv* 1938 p. 405ff.
56 For the minutes, see *Folk-Liv* 1938 pp. 319f and 409ff (IAEEF) and 1938 p. 316ff (CIFL).
57 *Folk-Liv* 1939, p. 104ff. The National Museum of Wales volunteered to arrange the congress in Cardiff, but Stockholm was chosen.

Grief at the Loss of a Pet – As Exemplified by the Cat

Anders Gustavsson

The value of domestic animals in peasant society was associated with agricultural production. This also applied to dogs and cats. Such animals were not thought of as being primarily pets. Cats were kept to control the number of rats and mice. Nor was there any ceremony connected with the death of cats; the dead animals were instead often buried in a dung pit or rubbish tip. Eccentric persons were the only ones to make something ceremonious out of the death of a cat. An eccentric man of this kind who lived between 1865 and 1947, and who is mentioned in the oral tradition of western Sweden, made zinc caskets for his cats when they died. This gave rise to considerable mocking commentary among his neighbours. There is no information in Norwegian and Swedish ethnological archives about how dead animals of this kind were dealt with. I have, however, collected some information in a number of interviews.

The situation was different in towns and cities, compared to rural districts, because there animals have had a completely different social function (Broberg 2005, Pollard 2003). When city animals died, they were treated more respectfully than in rural districts and could even be placed in a box for burial. In recent years, cremation has become common. Veterinary clinics also provide coffins for dead pets (Ernblad and Kronqvist 2001: 167, 172). Special animal graveyards did not, however, appear in Sweden in any great number until the late 1900s. There are some few graveyards on the European continent whose origins reach back to the 1800s. The history of these graveyards has been presented by the Norwegian ethnologist Liv Emma Thorsen (Thorsen 2002).

In this presentation I intend to consider not only the visual symbols and texts on stones or metal plates and other objects placed on feline graves in western Sweden, but also the care and maintenance of these graves during the summer and winter months. A comparison can then be made with the symbolic expressions, texts and care of graves in a few selected animal

graveyards on the Continent. What are the similarities and differences that can be observed in a continental European perspective concerning pets? A comparison with human graves in western Sweden in recent years can also be of interest. I have previously analysed such graves in western Sweden and southern Norway for a book published in 2003 (Gustavsson 2003). This analysis can provide comparative material for utilization in this study. How are borderlines maintained or eradicated, as the case may be, when people of our day and age wish to express memories, bereavement and grief having to do with a deceased person and/or a pet? Can an anthropomorphization of grief occur?

Recently, grief has also begun to be expressed through extremely emotional messages on the internet. I will also study the content of such messages. How do pet owners express their experience of the animal's death, whether caused by sickness or accident?

Animal graveyards in Sweden, with brief considerations of European equivalents

Each animal graveyard has a list of regulations that pet owners must abide by. The purpose of such regulations is to differentiate between the graves of human beings and pets. For this reason many animal graveyards in Sweden and Germany (Guthke 2003/1) attempt to prohibit the use of crosses or other religious symbols on graves. The animal graveyards at Djurgården in Stockholm and the Franciscan burial ground in Örebro, however, actually permit the use of religious symbols (Arnström 2005).

Animal graveyards are an obviously urban phenomenon in Sweden. In larger urban centres that lack animal graveyards, there are several instances of proposals being submitted to and meetings held with the municipal administration urging the establishment of a graveyard of this kind. In western Sweden alone such efforts were made in the towns of Alingsås, Stenungsund, Vänersborg and Uddevalla at the beginning of the present century. In 2003, the municipal administration of Uddevalla received a delegation that presented a petition containing 601 signatures requesting an animal graveyard. No graveyard has as yet been established, however (*Bohusläningen*, 17 December 2003).

The four animal graveyards that I have studied all lie in western Sweden (Lysekil, Lilla Edet, Trollhättan and Backa on the outskirts of Gothenburg). These sites have for the most part existed only for a few decades. The oldest of them, at Lilla Edet, was established as early as 1962. The graveyards in Backa near Gothenburg were built in 1985, in Trollhättan in 1987 and in Lysekil in 1995. The names of these animal graveyards vary. The one in Trollhättan is called 'Memorial Site for Domestic Animals' while the one in Lilla Edet is called 'The Animal Memorial Grove'. The

towns in question allocate burial sites, coordinate the registry of graves and usually provide some assistance with the burials. Idealistic organizations, such as the animal welfare association in Lilla Edet and the Burial Association for Pets in Gothenburg, can be given responsibility for operations. The animal welfare association in Helsingborg also carries out the same duties as the one in Lilla Edet (Ernblad and Kronqvist 2001: 173). The right to use the burial plot is usually limited to five years and requires the payment of a certain fee. After the first five-year period, this right can be extended for additional periods of five years upon payment of an additional fee. The burial plots in Lysekil can be used free of charge, but here no assistance is offered for digging the grave. The right to use the plot is not limited in time.

Animal graveyards are far more infrequent in Norway than in Sweden (Thorsen 2001). I have found it impossible to discover any that still are in use. There was one privately owned animal graveyard in Lunner municipality in Hadeland County north of Oslo in use during the 1990s. Its owners had been inspired to establish this graveyard by similar ones in Sweden. The dead pets who were buried here, mostly dogs and cats, came from the whole of the Oslo region. Horizontal natural stones were used to mark the graves and on them the woman owner painted the animal's name, birth and death dates and a personal text, such as 'Deepest thanks'. This operation ceased around the year 2000 as the demand for burial plots diminished markedly when cremation of dead pets became possible in Norway. This animal graveyard is now overgrown and the painted texts are difficult to read. I have therefore not attempted to take any photographs there. There is also an abandoned animal graveyard near the city of Voss in western Norway which was used by people from the Bergen area during the 1990s (Thorsen 2002:28). In Norway, in contrast to Sweden, owners are allowed to bury their dead pets in their own gardens. Thus there is not the same evident demand for the establishment and utilization of animal graveyards as in Sweden. In an internet guest book set up in Norway for a deceased cat in 2006, the owner wrote that her seven-year-old cat Teo 'was cremated and now rests under the apple tree in the woods behind our house' (www.freewebs.com). The absence of animal graveyards in Norway has meant that I was not able to compare feline graves in Sweden and Norway as I could earlier when studying human graves. In this study I have instead focused my comparative observations on continental Europe where extensive equivalent material may be found. Those that I have studied are an animal graveyard in Asnières sur Seine in Paris (established in 1899) and one in Lisbon named 'Zoo'.

Visual expression – symbols

An important aspect of this investigation is an ascertaining of the prominent features of the *symbols* used in the animal graveyards studied in Sweden and on the Continent. It is appropriate to begin with the town of *Lilla Edet* since its graveyard was established in 1962, long before any of the other Swedish graveyards included here. One common form for decoration is made up of small stones laid in a ring around the grave. Crushed gravel enclosed by a wooden framework can also be used. There are some instances of horizontal natural stones. These can be decorated with painted flowers, as for example the two naturalistic roses on the grave of the cat Baloo, nicknamed ‘Monito’, that lived between 1986 and 2000 (see figure 1).

Affection for the cat Zita (1992–2004) is expressed by means of two red hearts painted on above and below its name. Zita lies in the same grave as Missen (1980–1988) and Jocke (1996–2001). Their names are inscribed on a metal plate on the grave and also on a vertical, white-painted wooden cross (figure 2). This is one of two crosses found at this graveyard.

The use of the cross as a symbol clearly contributes to obliterate the dis-

1 (above left). A pair of red-painted roses on the horizontal natural stone memorializing the cat Baloo, nicknamed ‘Monito’, at the animal graveyard in Lilla Edet. Smaller stones have been laid in a ring around the grave. Decorative flowers have been placed within this ring and alongside the natural stone. Photo: Johan Gustavsson.

2 (above right). The names ‘Zita’, ‘Missen’ and ‘Jocke’ have been painted on a vertical, white-painted wooden cross and inscribed on a metal plate lying on a grave at Lilla Edet’s animal graveyard. The name ‘Zita’ is enclosed in two red hearts painted on the wooden cross and the text ‘My best friend’ on the metal plate. ‘The Andersson Family, Göta’ is given as the owners. A wooden framework encloses the gravel which covers the grave. Photo: Johan Gustavsson.

3. A cross surrounded by rays of light as found on a stone slab for ‘Our faithful, beloved’ Toker at Lilla Edet’s animal graveyard. A flowering plant has been placed above the slab. ‘The Kielow Wahlström family’ are named as the owners. Photo: Johan Gustavsson.

4. A vertical wooden cross at Trollhättan’s animal graveyard with the text ‘Missing you’. A framed photo of the cat Pepsi has been placed in front of the cross along with a larger and a smaller pottery figurines of cats. Photo: Anders Gustavsson.

tinction between human beings and pets. One should note the choice of a white, not a black cross. The white cross has increasingly replaced the black one on human graves in Sweden in recent years precisely because emphasis is placed on the lighter aspects of death instead of the darker ones (Gustavsson 2003: 97f). The second cross at this graveyard is found on a horizontal stone in remembrance of the cat Toker (1969–1978). It is considerably older and expresses Christian belief in that it is surrounded by radiant beams (Gustavsson 2003: 106) (see figure 3). These two crosses can be considered as the type of obvious religious symbols that the graveyard administration actually advises against (see above). Such religious symbolism tends to play down or obliterate the borderline between animals and human beings.

The animal graveyard in the industrial city of *Trollhättan* was established in 1987, twenty five years later than the one at Lilla Edet some 20 kilometres away. Here there are some examples of encircling burial plots with small stones. Inscribed or painted flowers such as lily-of-the-valley or a heart as a symbol of love can also be found on the horizontal natural stones commonly used at the Trollhättan graveyard. The only symbols having a religious association are a couple of vertical wooden crosses. No vertical stones can, on the other hand, be found. One of the crosses found here re-

5. The text 'Our beloved cat KLEO' and an outline drawing in black of the twenty-year-old cat has been painted on a horizontal natural stone at Trollhättan's animal graveyard. Photo: Anders Gustavsson.

lates to the cat Pepsi that died in 2004 at an age of eleven years. This cross is supplemented with a framed photograph of the cat and two figurines, one larger and one smaller, of cats (see figure 4).

There is a greater variation and wealth of symbols at Trollhättan compared with Lilla Edet. These sometimes consist of framed photographs of the particular cat. A drawing of the cat in felt pen or paintbrush or an inscription on the stone can also be found (see figure 5).

A free-standing china or pottery cat figurine has been placed on some graves at Trollhättan. Here there is also considerably greater similarity with examples that have been found in Paris and Lisbon (see below) than is the case at Lilla Edet. This difference can have come about both because the animal graveyard at Trollhättan is newer and because the pet owners there may have accepted and adapted new impulses, not the least due to the emergent common practise on gravestones commemorating human beings. The greatest changes on these latter gravestones have taken place from the 1990s and on, as increasing individualism has made itself felt. It is at this time that the very first photographs of deceased persons begin to be seen (Gustavsson 2003). This custom is still, however, used to a far less extent than has long been the case on the Continent, such as in France and Portugal.

Mention should also be made of the fact that the relationship between human and cat has also begun to be expressed in recent years by using the picture of a cat in announcements of human deaths and sometimes on gravestones (Gustavsson 2003). These cat pictures in death announcements are sometimes combined with a Christian text, such as a psalm. One should not automatically consider the use of this type of picture as expressing an increasing secularization.

Lysekil is the smallest and newest of the Swedish graveyards to have been investigated in the present survey. Here there are many similarities not only to Trollhättan but also to Lilla Edet. Some few horizontal wooden crosses can be seen lying beside natural stones. Unlike Trollhättan, no photographs of cats are to be found. The manager of the graveyard is careful about sustaining the distinction between humans and animals. In addition to similar-

6. The names of the cats Måns and Vivvi have been written on a horizontal natural stone on which pink flowers have also been painted at Lysekil's animal graveyard. Numerous white seashells have been placed within the heart-shaped ring of stones on the plot. Photo: Anders Gustavsson.

ities with other animal graveyards, some specific distinctive features appear that are specific to Lysekil. Any flower painted on a natural stone is usually a honeysuckle, the official flower of Bohuslän province. White seashells can be found within the circle of small stones around the burial plot (see figure 6), something that indicates the graveyard's location in a coastal district. The graves at *Backa* in Gothenburg all have horizontal stones to which a little metal plate has been fastened. This leads to all graves having a nearly identical appearance in contrast to the other graveyards in which natural stones can also be found. These latter, which are of varying appearance, are easy to decorate, something that is not possible on the metal plates at Backa. I observed only a few graves with depictions of cats; one was a photograph of a cat while others were china cat figurines. This means that pictures and china figurines of cats in Sweden are most commonly found at Trollhättan. Nor can many decorations be found either at Backa, with the exception of some red-painted hearts that are occasionally seen lying on top of a stone. A teddy bear made of stone has also been observed.

At the animal graveyard in *Paris* I have examined feline graves dating to the 1980s and later. Here there are vertical, usually rectangular stones about one-half metre high. A white stone slab on which several types of flowers and leaves had been painted was attached to one such vertical stone. There is generally a colour picture of the deceased cat in a rectangular or oval frame imprinted on the stone. This is also a feature of gravestones commemorating humans in France. Pictoral symbols are not very common on feline graves. These can take the shape of two engraved hearts (see figure 7) symbolizing love, a bronze cat, a bronze flower or a pair of bronze birds. There are some examples of china or bronze figurines of cats placed in front

7. Two vertical stones placed on a horizontal stone slab in memory of two cats at the animal graveyard in Paris. The stone to the left is decorated with a framed picture of the cat alongside two engraved golden hearts. The cat is not named. The name 'Daisy' is inscribed on the other stone where there is no picture, but instead a bronze flower, a spike of corn and the text 'Souvenir'.

of the graves. I observed a china figure of an angel on one of the graves. This was the only association to religion that I observed.

In *Lisbon*, just as in Paris, the cat is usually depicted in a colour photograph with a rectangular or oval frame. A china cat figurine in front of the gravestone also appears in which case the colour photograph of the cat is in some cases omitted. A horizontal stone can be combined with a vertical stone. There is a striking similarity in surface features between Paris and Lisbon. Only one symbol with religious associations has been observed in Lisbon's animal graveyard. This is a cross on the grave of a dog.

Visual Expression – Texts

One can ask oneself what *factual information* about the cat and its owners is presented by means of the texts on the graves. At Lilla Edet, the majority of the graves have horizontal metal plates fastened to an underlying stone slab. The names of the cat and the owning family and, in several cases, the home municipality are stated along with the cat's birth and death dates. The names of several cats can be found on the same plate, indicating that they have belonged to the same family and died at different times. At Lysekil, however, the cat's birth and death dates are usually not stated, only its name. The little metal plates at the animal graveyard in Gothenburg list the cat's name, age and year of death. Numerous metal plates can often be observed alongside one another when one and the same family has owned several cats that have died from 1985 onwards. Dogs can also be buried in the same burial plots as cats (see figure 8), something that I have not observed at the other animal graveyards.

In Paris the cat's name, birth date and death date are inscribed, often in golden letters, on the approximately half-metre-high vertical stone. Horizontal stones have in some few cases been provided with texts. There are some instances of several cats being named on the same stone, indicating that they have belonged to the same family. Specifying the cat's name, birthday and death day, and not only the year of its birth and death, is ordinarily done on the vertical stone in Lisbon.

Texts expressing the owners' emotions are also of significance. Remembrance, love, thankfulness and comradeship are emphasized at Lilla Edet. The cat Zita, that lived between 1992 and 2004, is described as being 'My best pal' (see figure 2 above). This indicates both an intense relationship with the human owner and a tendency towards a greater lessening of the borderline between human beings and pets.

The texts on the stones at Trollhättan express love, sorrow, loss and remembrance in a similar manner as at Lilla Edet. One text states, for example, 'You will always have a place in our hearts'. The texts appearing on some of the horizontal stones at Lysekil emphasize remembrance and love. The little metal plates at the graveyard in Gothenburg do not have space for more than the basic facts about the cat: its name, age and year of death.

Other texts in addition to names and dates are not always found in Paris, but they can occur. The message in those texts that do appear expresses remembrance, loss, appreciation, gratitude and love, such as 'In our hearts forever' (figure 9). They thus show a great similarity to the Swedish gravestones.

More texts can be observed on gravestones in Lisbon than in Paris or Sweden. These texts especially express loss, love, comradeship and unfor-

8. Three dogs and four cats that died between 1987 and 2001 have been buried in the same plot at the animal graveyard at Backa in Gothenburg. Photo: Anders Gustavsson.

9. The cat Minou depicted here at the animal graveyard in Paris is referred to as 'Treasure' and 'Our dear'. It will always remain in its owners' hearts. Photo: Anders Gustavsson.

10. A framed photograph of the cat Fofinha and a text on both the vertical and the horizontal stones at the animal graveyard Zoo in Lisbon. Photo: Maria Santa Vieira Montez.

11. This particular Fofinha is thought to have a soul that its owner hopes shall rest in peace. A large bouquet of flowers has been placed behind the vertical stone with a china cat figurine placed alongside the horizontal stone at the animal graveyard Zoo in Lisbon. Photo: Maria Santa Vieira Montez.

gettable or even eternal remembrance. ‘Your loving masters remember you and miss you eternally’, is what the owners of the cat Peluche (1985–1994) wrote, according to the English translation from the Portuguese. The friendship existing between owner and cat, and which death has brought to a stop, was expressed in the following manner to the cat Bamby (1982–1997): ‘You were a great friend, intelligent, always playful, always alert to our footsteps throughout the 14 years of your life’. The experience of fellowship with the cat can be considered to have continued even after its death. ‘I feel your absence every day. Whenever I am sad, I feel your presence’, the owner of the cat Fofinha (1988–2000) wrote on the vertical gravestone. This is an expression of a diffuse idea of life after death comparable to that in neoreligious lines of thought. At this same grave there is a horizontal stone bearing an excerpt from a poem by the French poet Saint Exupéry: ‘In a world which became a desert. We are looking forward to meeting a friend’ (see figure 10).

In this instance the point of view is actually focused towards the future, but obviously religious elements are not found on the gravestones in Lisbon. A slight exception is represented by a stone whose inscription indicates that the cat has a soul. The text ‘May your soul rest in peace’ can be found on

the stone commemorating a different Fofinha (1988–2000) than the one previously mentioned (see figure 11).[1]

Maintenance of the graves – a Summer season

Fieldwork at Lilla Edet, Trollhättan and Lysekil was carried out during the summer of 2005, and at Backa during the spring of 2007. The graves at Lilla Edet were on the whole well-cared-for and decorated with flowers and green plants. Where natural stones are used, potted plants can be set inside the ring of stones (see figure 1 above). In the case of horizontal stones, flowers can be planted in front of the stone (see figure 3 above).

The floral decorations at Trollhättan were striking (see figure 12). Both potted plants and bouquets in vases were observed. A middle- aged couple with whom I spoke stated that they came there at least every other week to care for the flowers. It was difficult to observe any obvious differences concerning the care of human and animal graves.

Lavish floral decorations in vases or pots were placed in front of the vertical stones at the graveyard in Paris. These all appeared well-cared-for at the time when fieldwork was carried out during the autumn of 2001 (see figure 7). It is obvious that much concern was given to having the flowers appear well-tended. Because there was no space for planting flowers in the earth, the owners had to make continual visits to the graveyard.

Flowers in vases were usually placed behind horizontal stones combined with a vertical stone in Lisbon. This indicates that the graves are visited regularly and are well-cared-for by the animals' owners, something that was confirmed by the person in charge of the graveyard's maintenance. No withered flowers could be observed during the summer period of 2002 when the sociologist Maria Santa Vieira Montez conducted her fieldwork (see figure 11).

12. A cat's grave handsomely decorated with flowers at the animal graveyard in Trollhättan. A ring of stones encircles the flowers while a china cat figurine has been placed in the background. Photo: Anders Gustavsson.

13. A woman from Västra Frölunda in Gothenburg places a winter wreath and lights a candle lantern in memory of her three cats who died between 1989 and 2003. Photographed by Anders Gustavsson on the day before All Saints' Day 2006 at the animal graveyard at Backa in Gothenburg.

Maintenance of the graves – At All Saints' Day and in the winter season

In order to illustrate a different season than summer, I carried out fieldwork at the animal graveyard at Backa in Gothenburg around All Saints' Day in 2006. I was able to observe domestic heather and other autumn flowers even though the new-fallen snow that blanketed the graves made fieldwork difficult. The intention of my visit was to study how the most important period of the year for the decoration and care of graves was expressed at an animal graveyard. In this regard I was struck by the noticeable similarities between the activities at human and at animal graves. Many owners came there to arrange winter wreathes, evergreen boughs and small lanterns containing lighted candles (see figure 13). This corresponds to what is done on human graves.

I conducted another period of fieldwork in Trollhättan in March 2007 in order to observe the extent of decoration and maintenance during the winter. Evergreen boughs and winter wreathes were numerous. Some of the extinguished candle lanterns had been left on the graves in Trollhättan during the summer. Interviews that I conducted at the graveyard at Backa indicated that Easter was another important occasion for decoration, at which time massive numbers of daffodils were left in place.

Online expressions of grief

I have made a special study of the Swedish and German web sites that were established less than ten years ago. Swedish discussion forums relate to an

animal heaven (http://hem.fyristorg.com/djurenshimmel) and a feline graveyard (www.katt.nu/kyrko-minnes.htm) (see Åkesson 2005). At these sites there are many different contributions with reference to cats who have had to be put down or have been killed in accidents. A corresponding German web site was named *Katzenfriedhof* (cat graveyard) (www.virtueller-tierfriedhof.de/katzen.html). It was started in 1997 and contains contributions from Germany, Switzerland and Austria. I have not, on the other hand, been able to find any actively used discussion forum in Norway relating to deceased cats. This can be associated with the marked lack of animal graveyards in Norway compared to Sweden (see above). At the site www.dyresonen.no I have, however, found some contributions dating to 2006 and 2007 at 'kattesonen.no' and the page 'Kattens minnelund' ('The cats' memorial').

When working as a scholar in cultural history, one cannot fail to be moved emotionally on reading all the sorrow filled and emotionally charged contributions. The scholar's capacity for sympathy and feelings of empathy with the grief-stricken should be seen as being important for his or her ability to understand and interpret the experiences of the people who express their very genuine despair. I feel that I am aided in achieving this form for empathy by my personal interest in and love of cats that have played an important part in my life since earliest childhood. I have myself experienced considerable grief over the years at the loss of beloved cats.

Retrospective descriptions of the cat's life

A picture of the deceased cat, but no other visual symbols, is always found in online messages. The cat's name, birth year and death year are always included in the text and often the dates of its birth and death. Those who write and send greetings to the cat are not only its owners, referred to by the Swedish terms 'matte' and 'husse' [short for 'matmor' ('mistress') and 'husbonde' ('master)], but also the family's children, other cats and even dogs.

A detailed description of how the cat died is commonly included in the texts published in Sweden and also in the limited Norwegian material. In cases where the cat has fallen ill, its owners have been forced to make the very painful decision about having the cat put down by the veterinarian. The period of illness and the emotions this aroused are usually described. The psychological pain caused by the cat's sufferings has been very difficult to endure. Therefore, no alternative remained to putting the animal to sleep. 'This was the toughest decision of our lives', wrote the signature 'Your family' to the cat Baloo that died in 2002. The actual act of having the cat put down at the veterinary clinic, while it lies on 'matte's' or 'husse's' lap and draws its last breath, is described in great detail. The owner of the cat Humle that died in 2002 emphasized that the day it died 'was and is the

worst day of my entire life'. 'You stopped breathing while I sang you [a lullaby]', as the owner of the cat 'Fläckiz' (1999–2001) wrote. The cat seeks bodily proximity to its owners when the lethal injection has been given, something that is often referred to at length. 'You fought a long time against going to sleep. You clung to my breast with your nose against my neck until it was all over' is what the owner of the kitten Daisy wrote after it was put down in 2001. In cases of traffic accidents, remorse is expressed because the cat wandered out into the road. These exhaustive descriptions of the situation at the time of death undoubtedly represent a way of adjusting to sorrow by allowing the owner to express and write down what is remembered and how the event has been experienced.

There are many cases in Sweden, and also in Norway, of long descriptions of the cat's entire life and what it has meant to its owners in many different situations over the years. The cat has been a psychological support for them. 'You saw when I was sad and came and comforted me', noted the owner of the cat Tiger that lived between 1998 and 2002. Several of these accounts show that the cat usually lay and purred on the owner's bed, and slept with its owner. 'You used to lie on my cover and purr until I fell asleep', reported the owner of the cat Martin. 'Matte' wrote of her cat Lisa (1988–2001): 'You lay against my hip night and day. And purred for king and country'. Another owner described her experience with these words: 'Your humaneness, your eyes that always met mine'. The cat's personality and its communication with its owner by means of sounds and vision is often expressed. The cat Fòfoo that died in 2002 at the age of fourteen is described by its 'matte' and 'husse' as being 'very intelligent and refined, with a slightly serious personality. He was very talkative and always looked into our eyes and at our mouths when we talked to him. He noticed everything that was new'. The cat could provide a great deal of support to mind and body. The 'husse' who owned the cat Jeppe for eleven years stressed his being 'my constant companion and the one who made me happy again whenever I needed comforting'. These examples of web pages give an impression of the difficulty in distinguishing between a relationship to a human friend and one of having a pet, such as a cat, as an intimate friend. The anthropomorphic characteristics are very clear.

Emotional expressions

The process of mourning appears to be extremely painful. It contains features of *despair* and is long-lasting. The signature 'Mummy and Daddy' who lost two cats in the year 2000, exclaimed: 'How can we heal the wounds in our hearts?'. In her grief, the owner can also direct *accusations* towards herself and even, in some cases, towards God. When the two-month-old kitten Rasmus died in 2002, its owner Frida Lennemar wrote: 'How could God allow this? A tiny, innocent creature that never did

any harm. Was it my fault? Could I have done anything more?'. The owner of Nala (1999–2001) wondered: 'Why did God have to choose you exactly?'. The underlying idea is that God should have devoted more solicitude towards and protection to the animal that the owner loved so deeply. Statements about God are lacking in the Norwegian material. There are for the most part only expressions of a worldly, not a spiritual nature in Norway, something that markedly differs from that which can be found on human graves in Norway (Gustavsson 2003).

A commonly expressed emotion in both Sweden and Norway is the extreme sense of *loss* experienced by the owners. In Sweden this can continue to be expressed for several years after the cat's death. 'It is now 6 years since you went to Heaven, but I miss you just as much as ever', as 'Matte' wrote to her cat Smulan. 'Two years have passed, but my loss is just as great' as was written by the owner of the nineteen-year-old cat Maximilian that died in 2002. The sense of loss has not lessened, despite the fact that this 'matte' now has a new and much-loved cat. She continued her statement as follows: 'Your place can never be filled by anyone else. It is reserved for you'. Another woman expressed her despair with the words: 'How will we ever manage without you?'. A little girl who was ten years of age when her sixteen-year-old cat died in 1998 wrote: 'I wish I could go to Heaven and bring him home again, but I can't do that'. Grief and loss are often expressed with countless tears. The owner of the cat Alice (2001–2002) emphasized: 'I can cry a flood of tears, but that won't bring you back'. The tears can continue for a long time. 'I cry myself to sleep every night, I'm crying while I write this, I'm going to cry myself to sleep tonight and tomorrow night and the next night…', wrote the owner of the cat Sippan that died in 2002. Sara, a Norwegian cat-owner from Trondheim wrote concerning her beloved cat Tilda in 2007: '… difficult to imagine that I will ever stop crying'.

Reminiscence is highly present among both Swedish and Norwegian owners even if the cat has been lost as a physical presence. 'I will never forget you! You will always be in my heart!', one owner wrote after her five-month-old kitten died in 2001. At times, the memory is expressed as being 'eternal', which is to say never-ending. The memory can live on over time through a photograph hung on the wall. The owner of the cats Nicke and Lina that died in 1998 and 2001, respectively, wrote: 'Will never forget the two of you, see your photographs on my wall every day and feel that you are here with me'. The customary lighting of a candle also contributes to keeping the memory fresh. 'We light a candle in your memory every evening', was emphasized by the owners of the one-year-old cat Sheila that died in 2003.

Love for the dead cat is expressed in many and deep-felt ways in the textual messages. The owner of the cat Tarzan (1986–1996) wrote soon after its death that 'I loved and will love you more than life itself'.

Even when grief and the sense of loss are great, there are also expressions of *gratitude* for the period of time which the owners have enjoyed with the dead cat. 'I am so happy that I was able to share my life with you', as the owner of the eight-year-old cat Simon wrote after its death in 2001. The 'matte' of the cat Lina (1985–1997) expressed her 'thanks for the years you looked after me'.

There are some instances in Sweden of *poems* being written to the cat. These can be reminiscent of those that are found in obituary notices of human deaths. Reflections on parting, loss and memory are included, but there are no statements of a religious or Christian nature, which on the other hand do sometimes occur in cases of human death. The following poem in memory of the thirteen-year-old cat Lillis that died in 1999 was written several years later:

> 'An autumn wind blew quietly
> And gently brushed your tired cheek
> Just as a candle is blown out
> Your days of life were ended'

An even stronger resemblance to a human obituary notice is the verse that was dedicated to the cat Isabel (2002–2003):

> 'You fell into sleep while the spring wind sighed
> now illness will no longer bring you pain.
> Sweet is the sleep in the silent grave,
> Good to know that you no longer suffer.
> Death came so slowly, just like a friend.
> Took your paw and guided you home!'

The word 'hand' used in human obituary notices has in the last line of the above poem been exchanged with 'paw'. The rest of the text is identical to that used in announcements of human deaths. Use of a poem of this kind shows that the distinction between humans and pets is tangibly lessened in cat owners' consciousness. When the fifteen-year-old cat Blixen died in 2001, it was commemorated by its 'matte' with an especially long poem consisting of eight verses with five lines each.

The German web site 'Katzenfriedhof' contains far shorter contributions than its Swedish counterpart and much less expression of any deeply felt sentiment. The Norwegian statements are similar to the German ones in this regard and thus differ from the Swedish. Remembrance, gratitude, love and loss are what receive especial mention in the Norwegian and German statements.

Conceptions of a reunion in a future existence

An often recurring motif in Swedish statements, but not in Norwegian (with one exception), is the concept of a reunion or a meeting with the cat in a future existence. The text written in memory of the not quite one-year-old cat Lillan that died in 2002 stated: 'We'll meet again soon, my dearest friend'. A more uncertain or diffuse expression is: 'Perhaps we'll meet again'. A future meeting can in other cases be expressed as being very specific: 'Husse and matte hope we will meet you again on the other side. We hope you will greet us at the door when it is our turn to go through the pearly gates'. These words were written to the cat Emil that lived between 1996 and 2002. After this kind of future meeting, no painful parting would ever occur. The following was written by 'Matte' to her few-month-old kitten 'Rasmus' that died in the year 2000: 'I know we'll meet again after a very long time. … Then we will always belong together. And when that day comes, nothing will ever part us again'. A belief of this kind can be linked to a Christian belief in some cases and not merely to a diffuse general religiousness 'lacking an express association to any institutionalized religion' (Dahlgren 2000:66). When the cat Cleopatra died in the year 2000, her 'matte' wrote: 'One loved by God is soon taken. … Wait for me up there in Heaven, I'll be coming later'. In contrast to what is common on feline graves, the concept of a reunion of this kind is expressed much more clearly on human graves in Norway than is the case in Sweden (Gustavsson 2002).

Concepts of reunion and a feline heaven can also be found on the German web site 'Katzenfriedhof, but to a lesser extent than what I have observed in Sweden. The following was written for the cat Spike that died in 2006: 'We will be reunited sometime. I am already looking forward to seeing you again'. 'All my love and good wishes to you in cat heaven' was what was expressed to the Austrian cat Blunzi after it died in 1998 at twelve years of age. There is one example of the deceased cat being called 'my little angel', something that indicates a certain concept of a continued existence after death.

There are also some instances in Sweden, as well as some few in Norway, of a cat being ascribed an angelic character. A commentary about the cat Nosen describes it as 'beloved Angel-cat'. The cat Mitzi is characterized as being an 'an angel in cat heaven'. 'Heaven needed a little cat-angel', was what the owner of the cat Baloo wrote after it died in 2002. The two Norwegian examples of the use of 'angel' do not mention a possible future existence in Heaven. Such expressions of faith are reserved solely for deceased persons in Norway, in keeping with the older Christian tradition that has not felt the influence of neoreligious modes of thought in recent years. During my fieldwork in Trollhättan in March 2007, I observed that a number of china figurines of angels (see figure 14) had been

14. The grave of a cat at the animal graveyard in Trollhättan decorated with a china cat figurine. The winter decorations consisted of evergreen boughs, a grave lantern and a wreath. Four figurines of angels and one of a Christmas elf were placed on the evergreen boughs and the wreath. Photographed in March 2007 by Johan Gustavsson.

placed on graves. The total number was higher than it had been during my previous fieldwork at the same graveyard in the summer of 2005. On one grave at Backa in Gothenburg, I found both a china angel figurine and a framed picture of a white-clad human angel surrounded by rays of light. This appears to have been a picture of a guardian angel. The idea that the cat now has a new existence in angelic form, which is a clearly positive idea, contributes to relieving the grief felt by the surviving humans and a lessening of the feelings of loss. In this regard, a clearly religious element has appeared in recent years, something that reminds one of the manifestations of angels related to neoreligious conceptions that have been linked to recent deaths of younger persons in Sweden and to some extent in Norway (Gustavsson 2003: 108ff). This also applies to the children and youths who have died as a result of accidents, murder or manslaughter (Gustavsson 2006: 214ff).

Evidence has also recently been found in Sweden, but not in Norway, that grief-stricken owners *have conducted conversations with their dead cats* on the internet in the hope that the cats will be able to hear the communications. The cat Isa that died at age fifteen in 2001 received the following message from her 'matte': 'I want you to know that I keep a picture of you on my bedside table and that I chat with you every evening and say good night, have you heard me?' In some cases, a letter has followed the cat into its grave. 'In my sorrow and loss I wrote a letter to you that was placed in your grave and followed you up to Heaven', wrote the owner of the cat Sheeba that died in 1997. A clearly expressed Christian faith can be conveyed in some cases. After the three-year-old cat Zhiney died in 2002, its owner prayed, 'May God bless her. Heavenly Peace'. At this same time, the owner also declared that she heard 'the angels call out your name, even I can hear them deep down in my heart. They sing and are happy', which is to say that the angels express an audible joy about the cat in its new existence. A prayer to God can concern the passing on of a message to the dead cat: 'Tell him, God, that I love him most of all' was

emphasized by the owner of the cat Fläckiz (1999–2001). In some few cases, a written message has been placed on the cat's grave. At Backa in Gothenburg, a plasticized letter placed on the grave of the nineteen-year-old cat Bamse, that died in 2005, read: 'Our beloved Bamse. When our days on Earth are over, we will be coming, then we will meet again. Sleep well, beloved little teddy bear'. Personally formulated and handwritten texts have also been addressed to and placed on the graves of deceased humans. This applies to children and young people and, sometimes, to middle-aged persons, but never to aged people (Gustavsson 2003: 31). In this respect also, the distinction between deceased animals and humans is seen to have lessened or disappeared in Sweden, while continuing to exist in Norway.

Online statements in Sweden indicate the importance of the cat not forgetting its earthly owners after entering into its new existence. When the three-year-old cat Elof died in 2003, its 'matte' wrote, in English: 'Don't give up on me yet, Don't forget who I am'. The text continued in Swedish with the words: 'Wait for me … I'm coming'. It should be noted here that people whose mother tongue is Swedish sometimes use English when expressing themselves. Another question that is sometimes asked is if the deceased cat misses its owners. The owner of the cat Rasmus that died in the year 2000 asked: 'Do you miss us? … Maybe we no longer live on in your memory. Or maybe we still do?'

An expression that is often met with in Sweden concerns a feline heaven, just as is the case on the German web site (see above). 'Today our beloved Prins passed on to the lovely heaven for animals', was one text published in 2004. There the deceased cat will not only be reunited with its owners sometime in the future, but it will also quickly meet other cats, among them those that have died earlier and that the cat knew during its earthly life. As the owner of the cat Lotus wrote: 'Now you are together with Svante 17 years old, running about in green fields and leaping at butterflies'. The cat is thus believed to have acquired a new life in this feline heaven. 'Now he's probably roaming about in cat heaven and has again become young and strong' was emphasized by the owner of another cat, Lotus (1988–2003).

A belief of this kind about deceased cats living on after death, experiencing continued contact with the surviving owners and meeting them again after they themselves die, seems to be a new phenomenon that has manifested itself on the internet. At graves for cats, with some few exceptions, I have not observed expressions for any comparable conception. One gravestone at Lilla Edet for the cat Jocke that lived between 1973 and 1983 has the text: 'You were our joy. We shall meet again. The Bergevärn family'. A gravestone at Trollhättan has this text: 'Farewell beloved friends until we are reunited in eternity'. Recent inscriptions on human

gravestones in Sweden, in contrast to Norway, now less commonly express faith in a coming meeting after death (see Gustavsson 2003). When this is expressed, it most often relates to the death of younger people. Obviously, it is then especially difficult for the closest surviving relatives to reconcile themselves to the thought of never meeting again in the future. Even on the internet it is the younger members of the deceased's circle of friends who express a diffuse desire for a coming reunion, such as 'See you in Heaven'. These conceptions relate to the deceased being in Heaven and still being able to maintain a compassionate contact with Earth (Gustavsson 2006).

A concluding comparative perspective

Using specific examples from animal graveyards and messages presented on the internet, and focusing on western Sweden, this article has given illustrations of the emotional intimacy between people and their pets in recent years as this is expressed in connection with the death of the pet. The texts and pictoral symbols that are utilized become a method for managing the grief and sense of loss that can be experienced over a period of years. The expressions of grief in Sweden, in contrast to Norway, have begun to assume a form that increasingly resembles the words, pictoral symbols and grave decorations, the maintenance of the grave and the online texts that are employed when a human being dies. One might actually speak of an anthropomorphic process regarding these recent forms of grief. This applies to names, years of birth and death, and varying floral symbols and heart-shaped motifs on the gravestones. The local or regional affiliation can also be shown by means of the honeysuckle blossom and sea-shell in Lysekil (see figure 6 above).

Religiously oriented motifs have also begun to be observed in Sweden, in contrast to what can be found both in Norway and on the European continent in France and Portugal. This not only relates to crosses, but also to angel motifs having a neoreligious tendency. The cross as a symbol has to a certain degree begun to be found at animal graveyards, even if such symbolism is not considered desirable by the organizations and municipalities that are responsible for them. Owners of cats, however, take their own lines in many cases. This should be regarded as expressing the increasing individualization that is also applicable to human graves in Sweden during the 1990s.

What are, of course, missing on animal graves are those symbols telling of occupations or leisure time activities which have recently received an ever-increasing attention on human graves in Sweden, again in contrast to Norway. Natural stones, which are never found on feline graves on the Continent, are used in Sweden just as their use on human graves in this country

has become increasingly common. One difference that applies to feline graves as compared to human graves is that gravestones are not placed vertically, something that is common on the Continent (see above). Vertical gravestones have been the most common on human graves while horizontal stones are a later phenomenon. This innovation has also been applied to animal graves, something that in its turn has contributed to a lessening of the differences between these and human graves.

Care and maintenance of animal graves during both the summer and winter seasons does not deviate markedly from care given to human graves in Sweden. In both cases, there are floral decorations in the summer, and grave lanterns with burning candles, evergreen boughs and wreathes in wintertime.

The international sections of this study have shown that developments in Sweden concur in several respects with what is done in other European countries, even if animal graveyards farther south in Europe are, generally speaking, far older than their Swedish counterparts. In southern Europe, both horizontal and vertical gravestones can be seen on the same grave. Vertical stones have, as I have pointed out, not been observed in Sweden, but instead all the more natural stones, which are not found in the southern areas of the Continent. Use of the cross is found considerably less often, while pictures of the animals and of humans on human graves are all the more often found compared with Sweden. Diffuse thoughts concerning a life after death in a neoreligious spirit can be found in certain cases in the texts on the gravestones on the Continent. Bronze figurines on human graves, something that is unusual in Sweden but fairly common in Norway, are even more common on both animal and human graves on the Continent.

Swedish texts on the internet consist of longer and more emotional messages than those on the German discussion forum that I studied and those I discovered in Norway. Conceptions of a feline heaven and angelic forms after death are found to a certain extent in Germany, but their focal point is in Sweden. This constitutes a manifest difference when compared to Norway. There the spiritual dimension in the form of pictoral symbols and texts is much more pronounced on human graves than in Sweden (Gustavsson 2002: 53). The situation between these two countries is entirely reversed regarding animal graves or animal memorial web sites. The spiritual dimension after death is actually much more pronounced in Sweden with reference to animals than to humans. This must in its turn be regarded as an expression of a more obvious secularization in Sweden than in Norway. Openness as regards death and the concept that one can converse with the deceased animal clearly appears to be on the increase in Sweden. An increase of individualism is obviously in force in this regard. This is something that I have been able to observe in recent years when it comes

to attitudes towards people who have suddenly died as a result of accidents, murder or manslaughter. This has to do with written texts at the scene of the death and also with texts published on the internet, and, in later years, is true not only of Sweden but also of Norway (Gustavsson 2006).

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1 The author wishes to thank the sociologist and translator Maria Santa Vieira Montez of Lisbon who has photographed the gravestones in Lisbon and translated their texts into English.

Jürgen und der Ewige Jude

Ein lebender Heiliger wird unsterblich

Jürgen Beyer

Der schwedische Folklorist Bengt af Klintberg machte vor einem Dutzend Jahren darauf aufmerksam, daß manche Wissenschaftler offenbar über ihre eigenen Namen auf ihre Forschungsthemen gekommen seien (af Klintberg 1995:148).[1] Seit ungefähr dieser Zeit gehört Reflexivität, besser noch Selbstreflexivität zum wissenschaftlichen Credo vieler Folkloristen, wobei jedoch af Klintbergs Aperçu bisher weder selbstkritisch appliziert noch selbstironisch goutiert worden ist. Dieser Aufsatz versteht sich deshalb als ein Beitrag zur methodologischen Auslotung der onomastischen Autoreflexion.

Ich[2] schreibe über einen Mann, der nicht nur meinen Vornamen[3] trug, sondern auch zu dem Personenkreis zählt, mit dem ich mich jahrelang beschäftigt habe, nämlich lutherischen Propheten (Beyer 2008). Der Prophet Jürgen hat mit mir auch das gemeinsam, daß er jahrelang von einem lutherischen Land ins andere zog. Selbst wenn die transnationale Kulturwissenschaft heute keine nationalen Meistererzählungen mehr schreiben will, ist sie doch weiterhin auf Identitätssuche.

Jürgen

Der dänisch–estnisch–deutsche Historiker Paul Johansen druckte vor einem halben Jahrhundert die meisten Quellen ab, die Jürgens (des Propheten) Wanderungen dokumentieren. Jürgen kam im Sommer 1546 nach Riga und lief ein halbes Jahr durch die Stadt, hielt den Rigensern ihre Sünden vor und forderte sie auf, Buße zu tun. Wenn sie sich nicht besserten, würde Gott sie strafen. Seine Ermahnungen hatten aber keinen Erfolg. Es kam jedoch schließlich, wie er gesagt hatte. Am Sonntag vor Pfingsten (22. Mai 1547) brannte ein großer Teil von Riga ab. Ungefähr zehn Jahre später kam Jürgen wieder nach Riga, und in diesem Zusammenhang erwähnen manche Quellen auch seinen ersten Besuch. Vor dem zweiten Besuch wurde jedoch nur *eine* Quelle verfaßt, nämlich Sebastian Münsters *Kosmographie* (1550).

Münster nennt als seinen Informanten Johann(es) (Hans) Hasentödter. Die *Kosmographie* berichtet nichts über Jürgens Aussehen und sein sonstiges Auftreten, nur daß er „nit wol bey sinnen“ gewesen sei. Sie nennt nicht einmal seinen Namen (Münster 1556:931).[4]

Der nächste Bericht wurde 1561 oder 1562, d. h. wenige Jahre nach Jürgens zweitem Aufenthalt in Riga, niedergeschrieben. Da diese Quelle, die Urschrift von Johannes Renners Chronik, erst nach Johansens Artikel publiziert wurde, soll der Absatz über Jürgen hier wiedergegeben werden.

„Nu was disser tidt to Riga ein minsche mit namen Jorgen, ein Misner, desulve ging bloth und barfueth und arbeidede in der stadt, wolde ock nicht eten edder drincken, hie hedde idt den erst mit arbeidende vordienet, vormanede dat folck thor bote, schriede menychmal: ‚O we, o we aver Liflandt, bekeret juw, bekeret juw‘, und der geliken ropent und vormanent drief hie vele. Hie schliep up der erden altit, ging flitigen in die kercken thor predige, und wowol ehn die predicanten etliche mahl vor sich nemen tho underwisende und van solchem sinen voernemende aftoleidende, konde hie doch der maten uth hilliger geschrift andtworten, dat sye ehn bliven leten. Van Riga toch hie na der Parnouw und vordthan na Revel, vormanede allenthalven dat folck thor bote, toch wider in Alentacken an der Russischen grentze, wort aldar van denn buren up einem felsen erschlagen“ (Renner 1953:8).
[„Nun war zu dieser Zeit in Riga ein Mensch mit Namen Jürgen, ein Meißner, derselbe ging bloß und barfuß und arbeitete in der Stadt, wollte auch nicht essen oder trinken, er hätte es denn zuerst mit Arbeit verdient. Er ermahnte das Volk zur Buße, schrie häufig: ‚O Weh, o Weh über Livland, bekehrt euch, bekehrt euch!‘ So rief und ermahnte er oft. Er schlief stets auf dem Fußboden, ging fleißig in die Kirche zur Predigt, und obwohl ihn die Prediger sich etliche Mal vornahmen, um ihn zu belehren und von seinem Vorhaben abzubringen, konnte er doch derartig aus der Heiligen Schrift antworten, daß sie ihn in Ruhe ließen. Von Riga zog er nach Pernau und weiter nach Reval, ermahnte überall das Volk zur Buße, zog weiter nach Allentacken an der russsischen Grenze. Dort wurde er von den Bauern auf einem Felsen erschlagen.“]

1569 erwähnt Hasentödter in seiner Reimchronik, daß „Ein armer Mensch / war Jörg genant“ den Rigaer Brand von 1547 prophezeit habe und daß er danach zehn Jahre lang durch Deutschland gezogen sei. Im Zusammenhang mit seinem zweiten Aufenthalt in Riga wird auch das Aussehen beschrieben. Jürgen habe langes Haar getragen und sei – bis auf einen Sack als Kleidung – nackt und bloß gegangen (Hasentödter 1569:228v, 240r, Zitat 228v.).[5]

1577 erschien ein kleines Buch, *Cronica Oder Handbüchlein*, das eine Reimchronik und zwei Prosachroniken enthält. Die Reimchronik behandelt die Weltgeschichte, die dritte Chronik die Danziger Geschichte. Jürgen wird in der zweiten Chronik erwähnt, die Ereignisse aus der Zeit von 1119 bis 1570 aufführt, davon viele aus Lübeck und Livland. Diese Chronik wurde von Johansen übersehen. Hier heißt es: „Im selben jar [1558] / Georg ein armer Man der in der Welt herumb zog / vermanet die Leute zur Busse / drewet den zorn Gottes / aß kein Brotd [sic] / er hatte es denn mit grosser Arbeit verdienet / den haben die Bawren im Stifft Dorpt

erschlagen / kurtz zuuor ehe es der Moscouiter einname“ (*Cronica* 1577: C5v).[6]

Die nächste Erwähnung Jürgens erschien 1579 im Druck. Sein Name wird zwar nicht genannt, doch trifft die Beschreibung gut auf ihn zu:

> „Zu letzt hat Gottes Gutigkeit
> Ein schrecklich Zeichen lassen sehen /
> Es must ein Sinnlass [sic] Mensch erstehn [sic] /
> Vnnd Predigen auf Marck [sic] vnd gassn
> Sie solten von den Sünden lassn /
> Gar schrecklich wurd [sic] Gott sein Gericht
> Bald lassen gehn / doch gleubt mans nicht /“ (Brakel 1579:K4r).

Nach dem Erscheinen von Balthasar Russows Chronik im Jahr 1578, aber vor dem Erscheinen der dritten Auflage 1584, die allein von Jürgen berichtet, überarbeitete Renner seine Chronik. Er erwähnt jetzt, daß Jürgen Holz gehauen und andere häusliche Arbeit verrichtet habe. Außerdem fügte er noch einen Rückblick auf den Aufenthalt in Riga 1546/47 ein (Renner 1876:144f.).

Der jüngste Bericht über Jürgens zweiten Aufenthalt in Livland ist der ausführlichste. Russow schreibt 1584:

> „Datsüluige Jar in dem Winter / ys ein seltzam vnde wünderlick Minsche / genandt Jürgen / vth hoch düdeschen Landen dorch Polen vnde Prüssen in Lyfflandt gekamen / vnde fast alle Lyfflendissche Stede vnd Lande dörch gewandert / vnde gantz barfot / naket vnde blodt mit einem Sacke allein bekleydet gegangen / vnde lange Haar beth auer de Schuldern gehat hefft / welckes allen Minschen in Lyfflandt ein groth wunder gewesen ys / dat ein Hochdüdescher / so der groten Lyfflendisschen külde vngewanet / solck eine schware külde gantz naket vnde blodt vordragen künde / Vnde wowol he keine hasen vnde scho angehat / so sint em dennoch syne Vöte so hete vnd warm gewesen / dat de Schne vnder synen Votsalen / dar he gestanden / vorschmolten ys / Vnde do men em Kleyder / hasen vnde scho geuen wolde / hefft he se nicht annemen willen / hefft ock kein Geschencke angesehen / ock keine Spyse annemen willen / he hadde se denn erstlick mit arbeyde vordenet / Do men em arbeit anbodt / ys he mit aller danckbarheit willich vnde bereydt dartho gewesen/ vnde hefft allerley Knechtische arbeit in einem dage so vele gedan / alse em ein Knecht in velen dagen nicht na don künde / Derhaluen de Lyfflendische arbeytsame Buren / en vor eine mirakel vnde wunder allenthaluen vthgeropen hebben / Vnde in synem arbeyde ys he vmme eine stunde allewege neddergefallen vnde gebedet / vnde na dem gebede wedder angefangen geweldich tho arbeyden / vnde vor syne arbeydt nichts anders denn de blote Kost genamen / gaff ock keinem Minschen bösen bescheydt / Vnde alse he gefraget wordt / worumme he in Lyfflandt gekamen were? Gaff he thor antwordt: Godt hedde en gesendet / der Lyfflender gyricheit / hoffart vnde leddichganck tho straffende / welckere Laster he ock allenthaluen im Lande gestraffet hefft. Ginck ock flytich in de Kercke / vnde hörde tho wat dar geprediget wordt / vnde alse de Predigers en worumme frageden / schalt he se vor Hypocriten. Etlicke helden en vor einen Vnsinnigen / Etlicke vor einen Fantasten / Etlicke auerst spreken / he were ein wunderteken Gades / vnde hyr worde etwas nafolgen / ydt were ock wat ydt wolde. Alse he van Reuel na der Narue reysede / hefft he sick vorlaren / Men wil auerst seggen / dat he van den Buren sy vmmegebracht worden“ (Russow 1584:39r f.).

[„Dasselbige Jahr in dem Winter ist ein seltsamer und wunderlicher Mensch, genannt Jürgen, aus hochdeutschen Landen durch Polen und Preußen in Livland gekommen und fast alle Livländischen Städte und Lande durchgewandert und ganz barfuß, nackt und bloß, mit einem Sacke allein bekleidet gegangen, und der lang Haar bis über die Schultern gehabt hat, welches allen Menschen in Livland ein groß Wunder gewesen ist, daß ein Hochdeutscher, so der großen Livländischen Kälte ungewohnt, solch eine schwere Kälte ganz nackt und bloß ertragen konnte. Und wiewohl er keine Strümpf' und Schuh' angehabt, so sind ihm dennoch seine Füße so heiß und warm gewesen, daß der Schnee unter seinen Fußsohlen, wo er gestanden, verschmolzen ist. Und so man ihm Kleider, Strümpf' und Schuhe geben wollte, hat er sie nicht annehmen wollen, hat auch kein Geschenk angesehen, auch keine Speise annehmen wollen, er hätte sie denn erstlich mit Arbeit verdient. So man ihm Arbeit anbot, ist er mit aller Dankbarkeit willig und bereit dazu gewesen und hat allerlei knechtische Arbeit in einem Tage so viel gethan, als ihm ein Knecht in vielen Tagen nicht nachthun könnte, weshalb die Livländischen arbeitsamen Bauern ihn für ein Mirakel und Wunder allenthalben ausgerufen haben. Und in seiner Arbeit ist er um eine Stunde allewege niedergefallen und hat gebetet und nach dem Gebete wieder angefangen gewaltig zu arbeiten und für seine Arbeit nichts Anderes denn die bloße Kost genommen, gab auch keinem Menschen bösen Bescheid. Und wenn er gefragt wurde, warum er nach Livland gekommen wäre, gab er zur Antwort: Gott hätte ihn gesendet, der Livländer Gierigkeit, Hoffahrt und Lediggang zu strafen, welche Laster er auch allenthalben im Lande gestraft hat. Ging auch fleißig in die Kirche und hörte zu, was da gepredigt wurde; und wenn die Prediger ihn worum fragten, schalt er sie für Hypokriten. Etliche hielten ihn für einen Unsinnigen, Etliche für einen Phantasten, Etliche aber sprachen, er wäre ein Wunderzeichen Gottes, und hier würde etwas nach folgen, es wäre auch, was es wollte. Als er von Revel [Reval] nach der Narve [Narva] reiste, hat er sich verloren; man will aber sagen, daß er von den Bauern sei umgebracht worden" (sehr wörtliche Übersetzung aus Russow 1845: 94f.).]

Jürgens ersten Aufenthalt in Livland erwähnt Russow nicht. Spätere Chronisten fügen den bisher genannten Quellen nichts hinzu, höchstens Lesefehler (Hiärn 1835:209f.; Kelch 1695:221; Arndt 1753:229; Gadebusch 1780: 510f.; *Kirche und Gemeinde von Jegelecht* 2006:202).

Jürgen wurde aber auch außerhalb Livlands gesehen. Wie schon erwähnt, behauptete Hasentödter, daß Jürgen nach seinem ersten Besuch in Riga zehn Jahre lang durch Deutschland gezogen sei. Von diesen Wanderungen sind bisher nur wenige Stationen bekannt. Caspar Hennenberger schreibt zum Jahr 1558 in einem Abschnitt über Königsberg, daß ein unbekannter Mann nach Preußen gekommen sei, der barfuß und bis auf einen Schurz nackt gegangen sei. Essen und Trinken habe er nur angenommen, wenn er es sich vorher mit schwerer Arbeit verdient gehabt habe (Hennenberger 1595:221).[7]

Auch die nächsten beiden Quellen waren Johansens Aufmerksamkeit entgangen. Esaias Fiebings Chronik aus dem schlesischen Sagan berichtet:

„In diesem (15)58. Jahr ist einer, der arme Jorge genannt, in der Welt herumgezogen, vermahnete die Leute zur Buße, dräuete den Zorn Gottes, aß kein Brot er hatte es denn zuvor mit schwerer Arbeit verdienet, ist hernach auch hieher nach Sagan kom-

Der
immer in der Welt
herum wandernde
Jude,
das ist:
Bericht von einem Juden aus Jerusalem,
Namens Ahasverus, welcher vorgiebt, er sey bey
der Creuzigung Christi gewesen, und bisher durch
die Allmacht Gottes beym Leben
erhalten worden.
Hierbey ist auch ein Bericht von den zwölf jü-
dischen Stämmen, was ein jeder Stamm dem Herrn
Christo zur Schmach angethan, und was
sie dafür leiden müssen.

Gedruckt in diesem Jahr.

Titelblatt von [Chrisostomus Dudelæus [sic]:] Der immer in der Welt herum wandernde Jude, das ist: Bericht von einem Juden aus Jerusalem, Namens Ahasverus, welcher vorgiebt, er sey bey der Creutzigung Christi gewesen … Gedruckt in diesem Jahr, o. O. o. J. (Wiedergabe mit freundlicher Genehmigung der Niedersächsischen Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen, Signatur: 8° Fab. Rom. VI, 1400).

men, er hat den Töpfern Holz gehauen und andere Arbeit mehr gethan, hat ein groß lang Haar getragen, endlich ist er von den Bauern erschlagen worden.“ (Hoffmann von Fallersleben 1829:697).

Die Angaben über Jürgens Auftritt in Schlesien stammen sicherlich aus lokalen Quellen. Die Nachricht von der Ermordung hingegen, die hier nicht lokalisiert wird, stammt wahrscheinlich aus einer anderen Chronik.[8]

Vielleicht war Jürgen auch in Münden (am Zusammenfluß von Werra und Fulda zur Weser gelegen). Job Fincel beschreibt einen Mann, der dort 1549 auftrat und Jürgen in seinem Verhalten ähnelte, doch nennt er den Namen nicht:

„IM selben jar 1549. Ist dinstags nach Vrsule [22. Oktober] ein armer Mensch / der ein greslich ansehen gehabt / in schlechten hosen vnd wammes / one rock / mit eim stecken vber der achseln / zu Münden am wasser vber die brücke in die Stad gangen durch alle gassen hin vnd wider vmb gelauffen / geruffen vnd geschrien. ICh warne euch jr lieben brüder / stehet vom gottlosen Wesen abe / gehet in die Kirchen / höret Gottes wort vnd folget demselbigen / thut die Abgötterey / heucheley vnd gleisnerey aus der Kirchen / Ich warne euch etc.“ (Fincel 1556:R2r).[9]

Die Identifizierung mit Jürgen ist aber nicht so sicher wie bei Hennenbergers namenlosen Mann, der an seinem Arbeitseifer wiederzuerkennen ist.

Laut Russow sei Jürgen „ein Hochdüdescher“ [ein Hochdeutscher] und laut Renner „ein Misner“ [ein Meißner] gewesen. Die anderen Quellen nennen nicht seine Herkunft. Die in der Literatur anzutreffende Behauptung, daß Jürgen aus der Markgrafschaft Meißen stamme (Lipp 1895:131; Kleis 1926–29:184; Johansen 1951:193, 197; id. 1996: 89, 95; Beyer 1995:65; Beyer 2005: 206), ist wohl nicht zu halten. Im 16. Jahrhundert bedeutete das niederdeutsche Wort *mîssensch* (*mîsnisch* usw.) nicht nur 'meißnisch' im geographischen Sinne, sondern bezeichnete auch das dort gesprochene Deutsch, das als die hochdeutsche Norm angesehen wurde (Lasch et al. 1933–2004:995; Sodmann 1973:128). Deshalb kann Russows Angabe mit der von Renner völlig identisch sein.

Von mehreren Chronisten wird Jürgen als ein Zeichen Gottes vor dem Beginn des Livländischen Krieges 1558 gesehen. Andere solche Zeichen waren ein Komet, Sonnen- und Mondfinsternis, feurige Kreuze am Himmel, große Kälte, Teuerung und Pest. In der Dorpater Marienkirche spielte sogar eines Nachts die Orgel von selbst (Brakel 1579:K3v f.; Renner 1953: 8; id. 1876:144f.; Russow 1584:39v; vgl. Linde 1998: 35f; allgemein Beyer 2000–02).

Das könnte einen Anhaltspunkt für die Datierung geben. Da die Russen am 22. Januar 1558 in Livland einmarschierten, müßte Jürgens Aufenthalt vor diesem Zeitpunkt stattgefunden haben. Renner datiert Jürgens Besuch in Livland auf die Winterzeit Ende 1556 und Russow auf die Winterzeit Ende 1557. Hasentödter nennt dagegen als absolutes Datum 1558 und als relatives „Zur zeit als Lyffland war bedrengt / Vom Moscowiter“ (Hasentödter 1569:240r; zur Datierung vgl. auch Johansen 1951:199). *Cronica oder Handbüchlein* schreibt deutlich, daß Jürgen vor der Eroberung des Stifts Dorpat ermordet worden sei. Da er 1558 auch schon in Sagan und Königsberg gewesen war, muß er nicht nur beheizte Füße, sondern auch Siebenmeilenstiefel gehabt haben.

Von Jürgens Reiseroute lassen sich insgesamt folgende Stationen, wenn

auch nicht genau ihre Reihenfolge und exakte Datierung festhalten: 1546/47 Riga, vielleicht 1549 Münden, 1556–58 Livland (Riga, Pernau, Reval, Allentacken), Preußen (Königsberg) und Schlesien (Sagan).

Auch bei den Angaben über seinen Tod gibt es manche Unsicherheiten. Die Quellen, die den Tod erwähnen, berichten übereinstimmend, daß Jürgen von Bauern ermordet worden sei, wobei Russow deutlich macht, daß die Nachricht auf Hörensagen beruhe. Über den Ort des Todes gibt es dagegen keine Einigkeit. Fiebing erwähnt gar keinen Ort (Hoffmann von Fallersleben 1829:697). Russow (1584:39v) nennt als Jürgens letzten Weg den von Reval nach Narva. Renner (1876:145; 1953:8) sieht ihn ebenso von Reval nach Allentakken (in Richtung Narva) an der russischen Grenze marschieren. Hasentödter (1569:240r) dagegen schreibt:

„Als er zu Riga zoch daruan /
Die Bawren jhn erschlagen han /
Fürn Wilden Man jhn angesehen /
Im Stifft zu Derpt sols sein geschehen.“

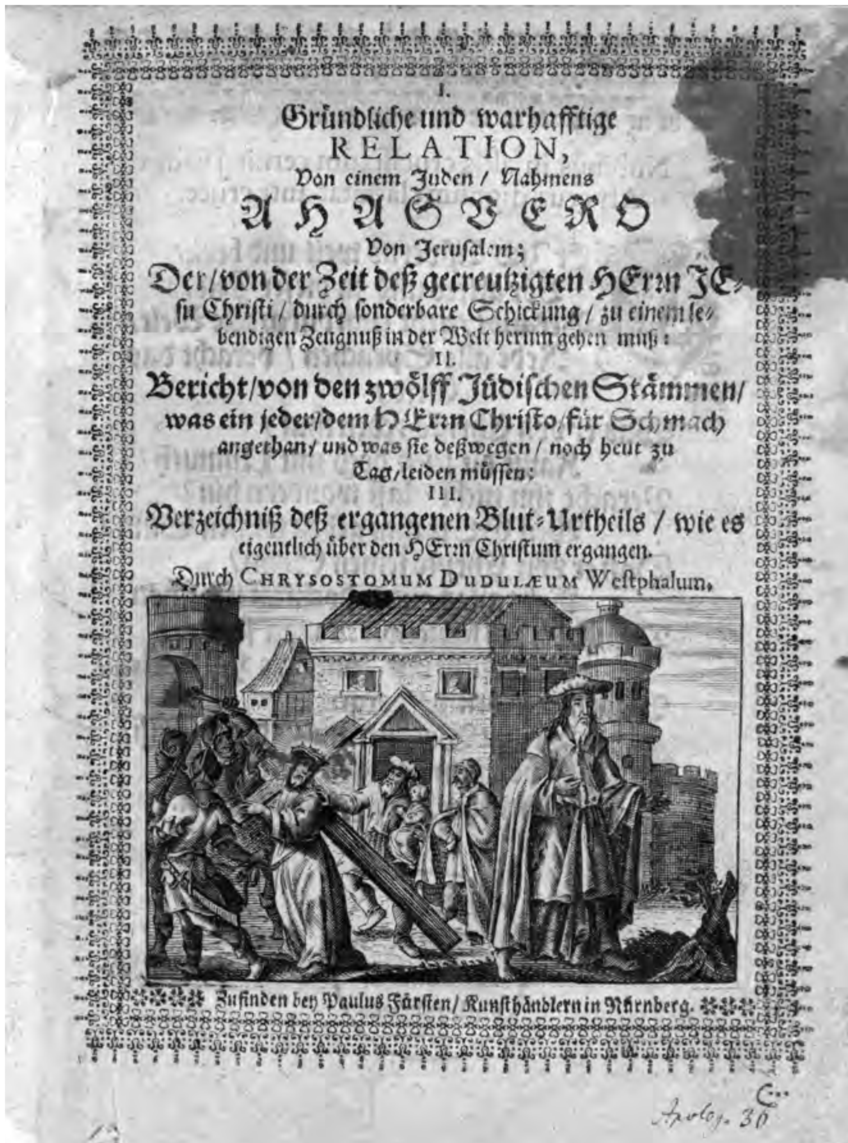
Auch *Cronica oder Handbüchlein* läßt ihn im Stift Dorpat erschlagen werden (*Cronica* 1577:C5v). Allentacken ist das Gebiet westlich von Narva. Es gehörte nicht zum Stift Dorpat. Beide Gebiete grenzten zwar an Rußland, aber sie deckten sich nicht (Wittram 1954:Kartenanhang).

Noch mehr Jürgen

Eine indirekte Spur von Jürgens Aufenthalt in Riga kann man vielleicht noch bei der Überlieferung einer anderen Prophezeiung erkennen. 1584 trat in Riga ein Otto Lambstorff auf, der eine im wesentlichen politische Prophezeiung verbreitete, die in zwei Fassungen erhalten ist. In einer davon heißt es in einer Anmerkung, daß die „Prophezeihung aus dem J[ahr] 1558“ stamme und daß „der Prophet ein Livländischer vom Adel gewesen“ sei. Das zweite trifft auf Jürgen bestimmt nicht zu, aber vielleicht hatte das Datum von Jürgens Aufenthalt auf den Bericht von diesem Propheten abgefärbt (Otto Lambstorff's Prophezeihung 1840:333; Bodecker 1890:119f.).

Die Rigaer Prophetengeschichte scheint eine wahre Fundgrube für auffällige Namen zu sein. Während man bei dem eben genannten Propheten an den ehemaligen Bundeswirtschaftsminister Otto Graf Lambsdorff denkt, hatte der vorige Bundeskanzler in dem Buchdrucker Gerhard Schröder († 1657) einen Namensvetter, der in den 1640er Jahren heimlich Schriften eines Propheten mit dem schönen Vornamen George druckte (Beyer 2000: 320, 322). Dieser Prophet kam zwar nicht selbst nach Riga, doch schickte er seinen Amanuensis.

Wenige Jahre zuvor, 1638, war in Riga noch ein Prophet mit dem Namen Iurge aufgetreten. Diesmal ist auch ein Nachname überliefert: Kneippe. Der Jürgen des Jahres 1638 war jedoch weniger asketisch veranlagt als sein



I.
Gründliche und warhafftige
RELATION,
Von einem Juden / Nahmens
AHASVERO
Von Jerusalem;
Der / von der Zeit deß gecreutzigten HErrn JEsu Christi / durch sonderbare Schickung / zu einem lebendigen Zeugnuß in der Welt herumb gehen muß:
II.
Bericht / von den zwölff Jüdischen Stämmen / was ein jeder / dem HErrn Christo / für Schmach angethan / und was sie deßwegen / noch heut zu Tag / leiden müssen:
III.
Verzeichniß deß ergangenen Blut=Urtheils / wie es eigentlich über den HErrn Christum ergangen.
Durch CHRYSOSTOMUM DUDULÆUM Westphalum.
Zufinden bey Paulus Fürsten / Kunsthändlern in Nürnberg.

Titelblatt von Chrysostomus Dudulæus: I. Gründliche und warhaffige RELATION, Von einem Juden / Nahmens AHASVERO Von Jerusalem … II. Bericht / von den zwölff Jüdischen Stämmen … III. Verzeichniß des ergangenen Blut=Uttheils / wie es eigentlich über den HErrn Christum ergangen …, Nürnberg [1634] (Wiedergabe mit freundlicher Genehmigung der Niedersächsischen Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen, Signatur: 8° H. E. E. 928/12).

Vorgänger im 16. Jahrhundert. Ihm erschienen an einem Sonntagabend zwei Engel, nachdem er den Tag zusammen mit Freunden beim – nomen est omen[10] – Biertrinken verbracht hatte. Dabei wollen sie jedoch „aus der bibel einer dem andern rätzel gegeben“ haben.[11]

Im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert erschienen laufend Berichte über lutherische Laien, die als Bußprediger auftraten und sich dabei meistens auf eine Engelserscheinung beriefen. Auch war die Geschichte von Jesus Ananias, dem Warner vor der Zerstörung Jerusalems, durch Johannes Bugenhagens *Die Verstörung Jerusalem vnd der Jüden* (1534, mit zahllosen Nachdrucken und Übersetzungen) in allen lutherischen Ländern allgemein bekannt (Beyer 2008a:Kap. 3).

Jürgen war mit seiner Botschaft also kein Einzelfall. Auch Wanderungen von einem Ort zum andern kamen – wiewohl in etwas kleinerem Maßstab – häufiger vor (Beyer 1995:65f.). Bei Jürgen haben wir es – obwohl der Begriff in den Quellen nicht auftaucht – mit dem in allen frühneuzeitlichen Konfessionen verbreiteten Typus des lebenden Heiligen zu tun, der ein frommes Leben fordert, mit gutem Beispiel vorangeht und außergewöhnliche Anstrengungen auf sich nimmt (Zarri 1992; *Confessional sanctity* 2003). Enthaltsamkeit und unbequeme Kleidung kamen auch bei seinen Kollegen vor (Beyer 1995:66, 71–73), doch war es ungewöhnlich, daß Jürgen so hart schuftete und sich dafür nur mit Nahrung bezahlen ließ. Es gab damals sogar Betrüger, die sich mit „heiligem“ Verhalten ihren Lebensunterhalt verdienten, denn das löste oft freiwillige Spenden aus.[12] In erbaulichen Erzählungen wirken lebende Heilige oft als Kristallisationsgestalten (vgl. Köhler-Zülch 1994–96), die fremde Wundermotive an sich ziehen. Dieser Prozeß setzte bei Jürgen spätestens mit Russow ein, dem wir die Details der Fußsohlenheizung und der stündlichen Betpausen verdanken und der als einziger die spärliche Kleidung mit kaltem Winterwetter in Verbindung bringt.

Ahasver

1602 erschien eine hochdeutsche Flugschrift in zwei verschiedenen Fassungen, die keine Neuigkeit, sondern eine alte Nachricht verbreitete. Trotzdem wurde sie in Windeseile vielfach nachgedruckt und in den folgenden Jahrzehnten und Jahrhunderten immer wieder aufgelegt und übersetzt, auch in Skandinavien (Gielen 1931:165–188).

Der Bericht beruft sich auf den kurz zuvor verstorbenen Generalsuperintendenten Dr. Paul von Eitzen (1521–1598) in Schleswig.[13] Im Winter 1542 (in der anderen Fassung 1547) sah er während der Predigt in einer Hamburger Kirche in der Nähe der Kanzel einen seltsamen Mann. Er war groß gewachsen und trug lange Haare bis über die Schultern. Der Mann lauschte mit großer Andacht der Predigt. Jedesmal, wenn der Name Jesus fiel, verbeugte er sich demütig, schlug sich an die Brust und seufzte. Trotz des kalten Winterwetters trug er nur Strümpfe, die an den Füßen zerschlissen waren, einen knielangen Rock und einen Mantel, der ihm bis an die Füße reichte. Sein Alter konnte man auf 50 Jahre schätzen. Von Eitzen zog Erkundi-

gungen ein und erfuhr, daß der Mann Ahasver heiße, ein Schumacher aus Jerualem sei und schon zu Christi Zeiten gelebt habe. Schließlich konnte von Eitzen ihn selbst sprechen. Ahasver berichtete, daß Christus sich auf dem Weg zur Kreuzigung an sein Haus angelehnt habe, um ein wenig auszuruhen. Ahasver habe ihn aber fortgejagt. Christus habe geantwortet: „Ich will stehen vnd rvhen / dv aber solt gehen". Darauf sei Ahasver Christus zur Kreuzigung gefolgt. Anschließend habe er ein Land nach dem anderen durchwandern müssen. Er vermute, daß Gott ihn „als ein lebendigen zeugen des Leyden Christi zu mehrer vberzeigung der Gottlosen vnd Vngleubigen" am Leben erhalte. Von Eitzen stellte zusammen mit dem Rektor der Lateinschule fest, daß Ahasver ein profundes Wissen in orientalischer Geschichte besaß. Der Jude lebte still und zurückgezogen. Er redete nur, wenn er etwas gefragt wurde. Wenn er zum Essen geladen wurde, aß und trank er nur wenig. Bot man ihm Geld an, nahm er nicht mehr als zwei Schilling, doch verteilte er es bald unter die Armen. Er sagte, er brauche kein Geld. Gott werde für ihn sorgen. Während seines Aufenthalts in Hamburg sah man ihn nie lachen. Überall sprach er die Landessprache – in Hamburg beispielsweise niederdeutsch. Wenn er jemanden fluchen hörte, wurde er ungehalten und ermahnte den Fluchenden, „soltestu gesehen vnnd gehört haben / wie sawr dem Herrn Christo seine Wunden vnd Leyden / dein vnd meinet wegen worden were / wie ichs gesehen / du würdest dir ehe leidt thun lassen / dann daß du also seinen Namen nennest."[14]

Johansen weist in seinem schon häufiger zitierten Aufsatz darauf hin, daß die Begegnung in Hamburg durchaus möglich gewesen sei. Dabei nimmt er an, daß es sich bei Ahasver eigentlich um Jürgen gehandelt habe (Johansen 1951).[15] Seine Argumentation ist von der – sehr umfangreichen – Forschung zum Ewigen Juden bisher nur en passant erwähnt worden (vgl. z. B. Knecht 1977:40; Ecker 1987:38; *Historische Sagen* 2001:245).[16] Natürlich ist eine direkte Begegnung zwischen von Eitzen und Jürgen – in Hamburg oder anderswo – denkbar, doch ist zu beachten, daß Jürgen einen Teil seiner Verhaltensauffälligkeiten offenbar erst mit Russows Chronik (1584) erwarb.[17] Deshalb halte ich eine andere Erklärung der offensichtlichen Ähnlichkeiten zwischen dem Ahasver-Druck von 1602 und den Beschreibungen von Jürgens Wanderungen für wahrscheinlicher, nämlich eine Schreibtischarbeit, bei der mittelalterliche Traditionen und ein Bericht von Jürgen miteinander verwoben wurden.

Schon im Mittelalter waren Erzählungen von Personen verbreitet, die Christus grausam behandelt hätten. Sie seien zur Strafe dazu verflucht worden, bis zu Christi Wiederkunft am Leben zu bleiben (vgl. Neubaur 1893a; Schmidt 1927; Schnitzler 1982–84; *The Wandering Jew* 1986; Anderson 1991; Băleanú 1991; Tilly 1995). In den Ahasver-Druck wurden zweifellos Motive aus dieser mittelalterlichen Tradition übernommen. Andere Motive sind aber nicht hier, sondern vielmehr bei Jürgen zu finden: unzureichende

Winterkleidung, mehr als schulterlanges Haar, eifriges Predigthören, stetiges Wandern und Warnung vor Sünde. Als guter Lutheraner hat Ahasver seine Sünde bereut, und Gott hat ihm vergeben[18] – aber seine Strafe muß er weiter tragen als Mahnung für die anderen (vgl. auch Lausten 1992:461f.). Auch dieser Widerspruch deutet darauf hin, daß hier zwei verschiedene Erzähltraditionen miteinander verwoben wurden: der uralte Fluch und der lutherische Bußprediger. Aus Jürgen wurde dabei ein Jude, dem der seinerzeit auch für Christen übliche Name Ahasver (Assverus o. ä.) gegeben wurde.[19]

Von den vorhandenen Quellen diente am ehesten Russows Chronik als Vorlage für den Verfasser, denn sie war nicht nur gedruckt, sondern enthielt auch den vollständigsten Bericht über Jürgen – verziert mit mehreren Wundermotiven. Ein Vergleich der vorhandenen Chronikberichte führt jedoch zu der Vermutung, daß noch weitere Chroniken – die auch dem Verfasser bekannt gewesen sein können – Jürgen erwähnt haben müssen.[20] Da Jürgen im Laufe von zehn Jahren weit herumgekommen sein kann, wären hier noch viele Bücher zu wälzen.

Wo, von wem und mit welchen Absichten die Ahasver-Flugschrift des Jahres 1602 verfaßt wurde, ist viel diskutiert worden. Darauf kann hier nicht eingegangen werden.[21] Es sollte nur eine weitere Quelle diskutiert werden, die dabei eine Rolle gespielt haben wird.[22]

Als die Beschreibung des weitgereisten lebenden Heiligen mit der des Ewigen Juden verschmolz, erlangte Jürgen literarische Unsterblichkeit. Dafür mußte er aber seinen Namen aufgeben. Hier endet mein Artikel, denn für die nächste Phase im Leben des Wanderers fehlt mir ein weitergehendes Erkenntnisinteresse.

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CRONICA Oder Handbüchlein / Vieler Gedechtnus wirdiger Geschichten / von anbegin der Welt / bis auff das Jahr / 1576. kurtz begrieffen / mit sonderlichem vleis gemehret vnd gebessert. Halle 1577.

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1 Af Klintbergs Liste ließe sich noch verlängern, vgl. z. B. Paludan 1981 („Paludanus“ wurde einst aus „K(j)ær“ latinisiert); Klaas 1996 (über die im Estnischen seltenen Konsonantenanhäufungen im Anlaut wie in *klaas* ('Glas')); Walden 2002; sowie mehrere Beiträge in *Heiligen* 2007, darunter auch (S. 88–101) eine frühere und niederländische Fassung des vorliegenden Artikels, der von der Estnischen Wissenschaftsstiftung gefördert wurde (Az. 6211).

2 Die neuere wissenschaftliche Tradition vermeidet den Pluralis modestiæ (bzw. majestatis). „Ich“ bezeichnet hier und im folgenden sowohl den Erzähler als auch den Autor. Da wir beide uns aber nicht immer ganz einig sind, wird gelegentlich die Argumentation in den Anmerkungen auf einer anderen Reflexionsebene differenziert.

3 Der hl. Georg tritt bekanntlich unter sehr verschiedenen Namensformen auf: George, Giorgio, Göran, Jordi, Jörg, Jorge, Jørgen, Joris, Jörn, Jürgen, Jurģis, Jüri, Örjan, Yorick, Yrjö usw.

4 Johansen 1951:194f. zitiert dieselbe Stelle nach einer Ausgabe aus dem Jahr 1550 (Auszüge auch bei Strobach 1993:74f.). Die lateinischen und französischen Ausgaben der *Kosmographie* erwähnen Jürgen nicht (Münster 1559, 1560). Zum Brand von Riga vgl. Das Buch der Aeltermänner 1844:40f.

5 Auf fol. 240r spricht Hasentödter von „Jörge“. Im Register, das in manchen Exemplaren fehlt, heißt es: „Georg ein armer Mann“ (fol. Ss4r).

6 Zu dieser Sammlung vgl. Schwarz 1926 (mit einer Edition der Danziger Chronik).

7 Hennenberger beruft sich hier auf „[Hansen] Mülfelts Annales“; vgl. Boysen 1904.

8 Ein weiterer Nebensatz („er hatte es denn zuvor mit schwerer Arbeit verdienet“) findet sich fast wörtlich auch bei Renner 1953:8; id. 1876:144; *Cronica* 1577:C5v; Russow 1584:39r; Hennenberger 1595:221, was auf eine mögliche gemeinsame Quelle hinweist. Dieser Nebensatz findet sich auch in einem Eintrag zum Jahr 1558 bei Nicolas 1599:894: „Zu Derpt strafft ein armer Mensch Georgius genant (der kein bißlin Brots vmb sonst genommen vnd gessen / er hette es denn mit arbeit verdinet) der Ordens herren / fressen / sauffen / vnzucht / vnd andere laster / vnd drawet denen GOttes zorn so lang / biß er alda erschlagen wird. Münst.“ Er stammt wahrscheinlich aus einer bisher nicht identifizierten Chronik, der auch die Quellenangabe „[Sebastian] Münst[er]“ entnommen sein wird. Münster selbst (vgl. Anm. 4) nennt weder Dorpat noch den Namen des Propheten, auch erwähnt er nicht seinen Tod.

9 Eine andere Auflage hat wortwörtlich den gleichen Text, doch schreibt sie nicht „greslich“, sondern „greulich“ (Fincel 1566:L2r).

10 Das Wort *Kneipe* ('einfaches Wirtshaus, Schenke') wurde jedoch erst im 18. Jahrhundert geprägt (*Etymologisches Wörterbuch* 1999:679).

11 Riga, Lettisches Historisches Staatsarchiv: Stadtarchiv Riga, Bestand 1377, 2a, Konsistorial-Protokolle 1637–1658, fol. 37r–38r, Zitat fol. 37v. Ich danke Holger Berg (Florenz) für den Hinweis und für eine Transkription. Vielleicht stammte ein Teil der Fragen aus Michael Sachs' *Geistlichem Rätselbuch*, vgl. Nyerup 1816:302–305.

12 Vgl. Beyer 2005; Neocorus 1827:323, 352 (Zitat): „dardorch he vele Geldes edder sine Underholding gesammelt".

13 Vgl. jetzt Schilling 2003 (verweist zu Ahasver nur auf Heym 1981).

14 Einige Drucke der Flugschrift liegen in neueren Ausgaben vor: Neubaur 1893a:53–65 (Edition von Neubaur:Nr. I u. X (S. 66f., 73f.)); Schmidt 1927:5–9 (Neubaur:Nr. I); Ecker 1987:345–351 (Faksimile von Neubaur:Nr. IV (S. 67f.)); Băleanú 1991:17–21 (Neubaur: Nr. I). Zitate nach Neubaur:58f., 62 (Text I).

15 Auf einen möglichen Zusammenhang zwischen Jürgen und Ahasver war schon früher kurz hingewiesen worden (Schiemann 1884:621–623; Neubaur 1893b:10f.; Amelung 1898:33; Schmidt 1927:29).

16 Die Anthologie mit Aufsätzen von Johansen druckt weder diesen Artikel ab, noch erwähnt sie ihn in dem umfangreichen Nachwort (S. 506–521) über Johansens Leben und Werk (Johansen 2005) – trotz des Vornamens des Herausgebers.

17 Johansens Arbeitsweise zeichnet sich durch Einfallsreichtum, aber nicht immer durch strenge Quellenkritik aus (vgl. auch Beyer 2008b). So übersieht Johansen, daß Neubaur 1893a:Nr. X eine spätere Überarbeitung von Neubaur: Nr. I ist. Die Belege für Jürgens Aufenthalte in Wittenberg, Danzig und Hamburg entnimmt Johansen den Ahasver-Drucken. Solange die Entstehung der Drucke nicht geklärt ist, sollte man diese Textstellen nicht als Nachweise für Jürgens Wanderungen zitieren.

18 Ausdrücklich steht das nur in der jüngeren Fassung (Neubaur 1893a:61), aber es kann auch aus der älteren Fassung geschlossen werden.

19 Ahasveros ist der biblische Name für den persischen König Xerxes (Esra 4, 6; Esth. 1, 1); die Vulgata nennt ihn „As(s)uerus". Für diese Form als Vor- und als Nachname bei vor 1602 Geborenen vgl. Benzing 1982:302; Frijhoff 1995:464f., 524; Hofmeister 1891:31, 281, 289, 295; *Quellen* 1861:62; Weissenborn 1934:77; eventuell auch *Sveriges medeltida personnamn* 1967–76:214f. (1358, 1381 – Latinisierungen von *Azur*).

20 Vgl. Anm. 8.

21 Otto S. Knottnerus (Zuidbroek) bereitet zu diesen Themen eine Studie vor.

22 Natürlich sind auch Einflüsse anderer lutherischer Propheten denkbar, die dem Verfasser sowohl durch persönliche Begegnungen als auch – worauf schon Brady 1968–69 hinwies – durch Flugschriften vermittelt worden sein können.

Making the Swedish National Day a Work-free Holiday – and its Use as a Day of Welcoming New Citizens

ANNA ULFSTRAND

6 June: The Swedish National Day – A holiday old and new

In 2004, the Swedish government introduced a bill proposing that 6 June, the National Day of Sweden, should be a public holiday as from 2005. As compensation, Whit Monday would cease to be a work-free day. The Left and the Green Parties opposed the proposal and stated in a joint reservation that it would be wrong and outdated in a multicultural society to direct more attention to the National Day than is the case already. After a debate in the Chamber, the Riksdag (Swedish parliament) voted in favour of changing the law on public holidays. This decision not only marks the end of a more than hundred-year-long debate concerning the need for a Swedish National Day, but is also the starting point for a wide range of efforts aiming at transforming the celebration into something that would serve several different purposes at the same time. I want to stress that the National Day of course was celebrated all through the country even before it became work-free. For example, in Stockholm it has been celebrated for many years at the open-air museum *Skansen*, featuring the Royal Family. It has also attracted some attention at schools and social institutions around the country. In this article, I will discuss some aspects of how the Swedish National Day is celebrated, paying special attention to the Welcoming Ceremonies for new Swedish citizens that have lately became part of the National Day celebrations all over Sweden.

The first time I attended a welcoming ceremony for new citizens was 1999 when I was appointed as a photographer to document the ceremony at the City Hall of Stockholm on 6 June. I found it so interesting that, when planning to write my master's thesis in ethnology a few years later, I decided to make the ceremony the theme of my work. That study of mine mostly revolved around the planning, the realization and the evaluation of the event, but I also included some interviews with persons attending the

ceremony as "new citizens". I had the opportunity to return to the subject in 2005 and 2006.[1] This time it was the celebration of the National Day, which included a welcoming ceremony for new citizens in Botkyrka, situated 30 km south of Stockholm, that was studied. It would, of course, be very interesting to carry out a study of how the work-free national day is understood by the Swedes in general and how they actually spend it. This, however, is not the issue of this article, which is instead about how the events mentioned above were organized, what they communicate and what they can tell us about contemporary Sweden.

I will open with a short retrospect on the origin of the Swedish National Day, which has been celebrated under the label *Svenska flaggans dag* (The Day of the Swedish Flag) since the beginning of the last century. At the end of the nineteenth century, the need for Sweden to have a National Day like most other countries was intensely discussed. One problem was the lack of an obvious day to choose. There was, for example, no day of independence or peace to select. A hundred years ago, just like today, the debate focused on the need to strengthen the national identity. In the late 1800s many conservatives worried that the growing labour movement might divide the nation. Another cause of worry was the large number of Swedes migrating to the USA, with a declining population as a result.

In 1893 Artur Hazelius, founder of the open-air museum Skansen and the Nordiska Museet[2] in Stockholm, chose 6 June as a day for a patriotic focus on the nation. The date was chosen because it was on this very day Gustav Vasa was proclaimed King of Sweden in 1523, and it was also the day on which the current constitution had been agreed in 1809. Presumably the time of the year, that is, early summer with a good chance of fine weather attracting many visitors to Skansen, also influenced Hazelius when he chose that date. The result was that Sweden *de facto* acquired a national day, but it took ninety years until the 6 of June 1983 officially was proclaimed the National Day of Sweden (Bohman 1997:113).

Svenska flaggans dag was considered by many people as non-authentic and without a real meaning, in contrast to the Norwegian celebrations of *Søttende mai*, 17 May, the Norwegian Constitution Day, which is often described as a contrast with roots in the dissolution of the union with Sweden as the end of the German occupation in 1945.[3] During the 1980s and 1990s the political interest in the National Day increased. More than fifteen private members' motions were written on the issue, and two Commissions of Inquiry were appointed to examine the matter. They presented their results in the reports *6 juni: nationaldagen* (SOU 1994/58) and *Nationaldagen – ny helgdag* (SOU 2004/45). Both commissions advocated a work-free National Day.

In the motions and in the reports of inquiry a set of arguments are presented concerning the necessity to strengthen the Swedish language, the

knowledge of Swedish history and the Swedish heritage in this time characterized by increasing internationalization. The second of the two inquiries expresses the importance of identifying occasions suitable for the celebration of various phenomena that Swedes are expected to be proud of. Successes in sports, Swedish parental insurance and Swedish multiculturalism are cited as examples of such phenomena (SOU 2004/45:34). Another set of arguments, as a starting point, used an unspoken consensus about the occurrence of two kinds of nationalism, one positively loaded "good" version and one negatively loaded "bad" or even "evil" version (SOU 2004/45:34). The latter version is represented by right-wing nationalists, neo-Nazis, and skinheads, i.e. groups that were highly visible during the eighties and nineties. This is the context in which the rising concern about nationalism should be viewed. Many citizens expressed, and still express, I would like to add, an opinion that these groups had appropriated the flag, the national anthem and other national symbols, with the consequence that individuals who wanted to hoist the Swedish flag received negative reactions and felt regarded with suspicion of inappropriate nationalism. At the same time headmasters of schools all over Sweden decided to exclude the national anthem from school festivities because right-wing students had started to use the occasion to manifest their nationalistic and xenophobic views. The hope expressed in a great number of documents dealing with this issue, in newspaper columns and in personal statements, is that by creating arenas for the "good" version of nationalism it would prevail over the undesired negative version. The underlying idea is that if the "good forces" use the symbols this will disarm the "dark forces" and the national symbols will thus be purified.

Another category of arguments ties expectations of more intense National Day celebrations to the politics of integration and the aim to put an end to the segregation between ethnic Swedes and immigrants. The ceremonies to welcome new Swedish citizens are often highlighted in this context as an important ingredient in the National Day Celebrations. In the latest of the official reports the commission states that "a successful celebration of the national day can be considered as a part of the politics of integration" (SOU 2004/45:34). In the following I will discuss how ideas, hopes and worries connected with nationalism are communicated in the celebrations that I have studied.

An historical National Day celebration at Hågelby Gård

The municipality of Botkyrka is situated 20 km south of Stockholm. The northern part is dominated by big apartment blocks built during the 1960s and 1970s. A majority of the inhabitants are first- or second-generation immigrants. Together with a couple of other suburban communities in Sweden, Botkyrka has been allotted the role of "problem area" by the media and

in the public debate. The southern part of the municipality, by contrast, is a Swedish middle-class residential district. This is the context in which the staff of *Hågelby Gård,* a public-owned recreation park situated between the two parts of Botkyrka, started to plan the celebration of the National Day after the decision that it was to become a work-free day. This does not mean that they had never celebrated it before. If the National Day happened to occur on a weekend they might make some small special arrangement, and if it happened to coincide with one of their regular Thursday dancing nights, they might ask the band to play the national anthem at the end. The director of the park described in an interview how she and her co-workers reasoned when they started the planning of the celebration: "We sat down with all the staff and tried to figure out what is really Swedish and what we should celebrate. We started off imagining blue and yellow and flags and maybe some folkdance and we visualized shimmering water, but then we realized that those ideas were connected to Midsummer. That is the most Swedish thing we have… if you feel any kind of patriotic love for your country."[4] The Midsummer celebration is one of the largest events in the park, with 5,000 to 7,000 visitors, and the staff did not want to copy that celebration. Their task was to create a different concept for the 6 June event. They also realized that this first year's celebration would probably serve as a model for coming years, which made it particularly important to create a good and carefully planned event.

Several staff members suggested an historical frame for the celebration during a brainstorm arranged as a kick-off for the planning of the new celebration, and it was generally agreed that such an approach would make it easy to offer something "fun for everybody", children as well as adults. The director put it as follows: "It's so rewarding to present knights and Vikings and all that sort of thing, but at the same time you also include this thing with taking back the flag and the national anthem from those Nazi groups that exist in our society. I have met people who told me that when they left the senior level of compulsory school they were not allowed to sing the national hymn since there were so many racists in the school. And I think it is really awful that it has become nasty to have a Swedish flag or that it is dubious to sing the national anthem. If we allow it to be that way the racists have really won." The quotation is interesting because it emphasizes how problematic it is do deal with the traditional national symbols. The director forcefully expresses the importance of reclaiming the right to the national symbols from the Nazis, but at the same time she chose to create an alternative and unexpected way of celebrating the first work-free Swedish National Day. One interpretation of her views is that a celebration is a way of reclaiming the National Day for the "good" forces, and even more so if the celebration is designed in a novel and unexpected way.

The next step in the planning process was to define what *history* is and

which historical eras would serve the aim of including everybody in the celebrations. Would it be appropriate to focus on a specific historical period, or should one be open towards all sorts of anachronistic mixtures? The staff felt insecure about the historical background of 6 June. However, when they realized that Gustav Vasa was proclaimed King of Sweden on that very day in 1523, they decided to give him the main role in the celebration of 2005. But the "king" acting during the celebration was not at all the stern king who one day long ago had ridden into Stockholm and was the subject of patriotic devotion. Rather, it was a kind man reading aloud for the children and wandering around in the park chatting with the visitors. It was a non-conflictual and non-violent history that was performed. There were no significant changes in the following year except that Gustav Vasa was accompanied by Queen Kristina[5] and some musical features were replaced by others. The historical tone of the setting was provided by the staff and by a number of actors who had been engaged for the day. In addition to the Gustav Vasa character there were, for example, a couple dressed in Gustavian style who acted as hosts and there was a performance showing a battle between Vikings, but it was clear that the medieval theme was the foremost and most visible aspect. In as well as outside Sweden, medieval markets and festivals attract a lot of people especially in the summertime. As an example the most well-known Swedish event in this genre is without doubt the Medieval Week held every August since 1984 in Visby on the island of Gotland. The complexity and diversity of elements in that event have been examined by the Swedish ethnologist Lotten Gustafsson (2002). Lectures, performances and commerce are all part of it, but it also contains events with the purpose of creating full-scale impressions of medieval life with the famous city wall of Visby as background. A camp where hundreds of people interested in medieval re-enactment gather is also an important part of the Visby scene. The medieval theme at Hågelby Gård was by no means as obvious as in Visby. One important difference is that the history used in Hågelby does not connect to a local past. The widespread custom of visiting medieval festivals and the public popularity of performances such as jousting tournaments probably made the Hågelby staff confident that a lot of people would like to spend the work-free day at their park if they offered that kind of entertainment. Another aspect, of course, is that the frequently held medieval festivals and markets have opened up for entrepreneurs selling medieval-inspired crafts and musicians to hire to perform medieval music. In 2005 and 2006 the grand finale was a jousting tournament that took place in a open field in front of the main building of Hågelby park.

As mentioned above, the medieval theme at Hågelby was not strict, and the issue of authenticity was important neither to the organizers nor to the visitors. In the organizers' opinion *real history* is the era between the Vikings and Gustav Vasa (about 1000–1500 AD), but the programme director

admitted that this choice was not be taken too seriously. The staff preferred a playful and tolerant attitude rather than an historically correct representation of a certain era. They announced, for example, that anybody that could "fool" the guards at the entrance that they "came from another historical era" would be allowed free entrance. In this matter too, they were very tolerant, and everybody, especially children, who had dressed up in some way were admitted without paying. As a result there were little girls dressed as princesses and little boys as medieval monks, as well as boys dressed up in contemporary camouflage-patterned military clothes carrying plastic toy guns. Some adult men were wearing the jersey of the Swedish national football team. This was especially frequently seen in 2006 when the World Cup was about to start a few days later. Noticeably, there were also a few older people turning up in traditional folk costumes, maybe because they are in the habit of always wearing this dress on special occasions. It can possibly be interpreted also as a statement in favour of a more traditional celebration.

The only area where stricter rules were applied was the medieval market, where all objects offered for sale had to relate to the right period of history in both material and appearance. It is probable that the rules had to be upheld more carefully in this case in order to induce vendors of medieval-style crafts to rent stalls, and thereby secure a certain amount of income for the park.

A history of diversity

The choices of theme for the celebration were discussed above, in the context of the frequent habit of putting history, especially medieval history, on show in various events. Here another aspect of the theme of choice will be taken up for discussion, namely the ambition of the staff to find a way to avoid the risk of creating a celebration that would be understood as excluding the many citizens of Botkyrka with non-ethnic-Swedish backgrounds. Again, the following contemporary discourses are important to keep in mind to understand the context of these procedures. Issues of diversity, discrimination, inclusion and exclusion, thus, were widely discussed and debated. For example, a report showing that especially the cultural scene in Sweden is dominated by middle-class ethnic Swedes was published, and as a consequence of this the year 2007 was proclaimed the Year of Diversity (Pripp *et al*. 2005; SOU 2005:91). The municipality of Botkyrka furthermore has a high ambition to lead the way in this area.[6] According to the director the main reason for using history as a major theme was to represent contemporary Sweden as a result of a long history of migration. In her opinion Sweden is an example of a multicultural society and serves as a good example of the possibility for people with different backgrounds to live together. To her, the important message of the celebration is that it is possible

to be proud of being a Swede because Swedes are actually a product of a history characterized by diversity and multiculturalism. On the other hand, at the same time as Swedish history was represented this way the organizers rhetorically questioned the existence of anything that is *typically* Swedish. "Not even the King is Swedish and Silvia[7] is definitely not Swedish, and a lot of other things that we label 'Swedish' are not Swedish," one woman said and continued: "We have moved around and people have been coming here and we have been mixing in all times and [history] provides good evidence for the positive side of this. I think this is a good approach for the celebration of the National Day. You can be proud of being a Swede because you are a product of a great deal of history". This is a frequently articulated ambivalence which is to be found in many areas where diversity and cultural heritage are handled and discussed. The Hågelby National Day celebration is a highly interesting example of how this ambivalence is represented. I want to stress that most National Day celebrations around the country are traditionally organized to a much higher extent than in Hågelby, but in many places this is combined with different kinds of efforts to find an inclusive tone.[8]

The welcoming ceremony for new Swedish citizens

In the afternoon of the National Day the welcoming ceremony for new Swedish citizens took place. On this occasion all new citizens registered in Botkyrka were greeted by the municipality. The ceremony had for some time been held in various places in Botkyrka, at different dates and with different characteristics. After the decision to celebrate the National day at Hågelby Gård the director of the park made an agreement with the authorities of Botkyrka to include the ceremony in the festivities of the park. The ceremony included a reception and a variety of musical performances, and the new citizens who had accepted the invitation received a diploma and a small present that was handed over personally by three representatives from the municipality. The chairwoman of the Municipal Council of Botkyrka gave a speech, very similar in content both years. Above, I mentioned that the medieval theme of the celebrations had no local connection, but in the chairwoman's speech the local history was underlined: "Botkyrka is the place where the first human beings in the entire region settled down. This was not a few years ago, it was 7,000 years ago". She went on to mention the Dutch paper-masters who came to work at the paper mill in Tumba[9] in the eighteenth century as an example demonstrating that "all people who come from other countries and cultures are of importance". By symbolically connecting the immigrants of today with the first settlers in the region and the Dutch workers at Tumba she symbolically turned the new citizens into descendants of those who have immigrated in the past.

Hågelby Gård is not the only place in the country where the welcoming ceremony is included in the National Day celebration. Different ways of welcoming the new Swedish citizens have been tried out all over Sweden since 1992 when it was introduced in Stockholm. The initiative came from a local politician, a member of the Conservative Party. Even though the Migration Board sends out a formal letter when an application of citizenship has been accepted, the Conservative politician, and others with her, wished to find a more dignified way to communicate the importance of the change of citizenship.[10] The ceremony she devised immediately gained broad political appreciation, but a discussion arose about the choice of date suitable for a ceremony. Members of the Left Party suggested 24 October, United Nations Day. Finally it was decided that the welcoming ceremony should be part of the National Day celebration. It takes place in the famous Blue Hall of the City Hall of Stockholm famous from the yearly Nobel Banquet. Some of the new citizens told me that they had experienced a special and very positive feeling just by being invited to the internationally renowned hall. "You actually feel like a Nobel guest. It was very beautiful and a memory for the rest of my life", said one woman. The welcoming ceremony is by now a well established tradition, and many other municipalities have chosen to follow the Stockholm example. The ceremonies generally include speeches, music and dance performances, although other arrangements also occur. In Nacka, another municipality in the Stockholm area, the new citizens are invited to a boat trip in the archipelago, and in some rural areas with few immigrants a representative of the local authority pays a visit to the home of the new citizen and hands over flowers and a diploma. The ceremonies are mentioned in very positive words in many of the documents where the work-free National Day is discussed, and in recent years municipalities have been actively encouraged by *Rikskommittén Sveriges Nationaldag* (The National Committee for the National Day of Sweden)[11] to include a welcoming ceremony in the National Day celebrations.

Similar ceremonies are arranged in several other countries. It was introduced in 2003 in the municipality of Copenhagen, and from 2006 a nationwide ceremony is held at *Folketinget* (the Danish Parliament). In Norway, ceremonies were held in five *fylke* (counties) initially in 2006, and all over the country in 2007. The creation and development of the welcoming ceremonies in Sweden differ from those in Norway and Denmark, where ceremonies have been or are being created by political decisions at a national level. This means that they can be expected to be more uniform than in Sweden where they are created on a local level. Another difference of significance is that the connection with the National Day only exists in Sweden. In all three countries the participation in the ceremony is voluntary and the participation is of no formal or juridical significance, which contrasts with,

for example, the Anglo-Saxon countries where the new citizenship is valid from the day of participation in the ceremony.[12]

In Stockholm the preparations for the welcoming ceremony start in January when the names of the new citizens registered during the preceding year are submitted by the Migration Board. At the same time artists and speakers are booked. Invitation cards with the national anthem *Du gamla du fria* printed on the back are sent out to all adult new citizens. Another important preparation is the inscribing of the names of the new citizens on the diplomas that will be handed out at the end of the ceremony. Even if the diplomas have no formal significance, the organizers as well as several participating politicians expressed their conviction of the great symbolic importance of the fact that the names are printed by hand because this emphasizes the personal touch, in contrast to a bureaucratic non-personal tone. This is actually found so important that one person with good calligraphic skills is present during the ceremony so that wrongly spelt names can be corrected immediately.

When I did my fieldwork two themes dominated the event in the City Hall, namely, traditional Swedish national markers and those articulating a multicultural ideal. The concept of *multiculturalism* can be understood in two ways. First, it can be used to describe a multiethnic and culturally diversified society, and second, in a normative way as a political and ideological ideal, to stress that that is a kind of society worth striving for (Westin *et al.* 1999:23ff). In Sweden the concept of multiculturalism has been an influential discourse for quite a few years, although – it is important to remember – constantly challenged by other ideas.

One of the strongest expressions of the multicultural ideal was the performance by a music group called FlamencOrient. These musicians combine Swedish folksongs, in this specific case *Ack Värmeland du sköna,* with Arabic, Turkish, Persian and Singhalese singing, music and dancing. They were highly appreciated by the audience who gave applauded them heartily. One woman, originally from Bosnia, told me when I met her a week later that the performance touched her very deeply. When she heard the music and saw all the people with their roots from all over the world, she started to cry. She remembered thinking that "they [the music group] show that from now on we are all part of something. Differences are a creative strength if mixed in the right way". When the organizers evaluated the program a couple of weeks later they stressed how successful the performance of FlamencOrient had been.[13] In contrast the performance of a Swedish folk music group which played and danced when the new citizens entered the Hall as well as after the ceremony was under communicated. Although their performance was frequently used by the participants as a background for taking pictures of each other and some of the children interacted with musicians who let them try the instruments and showed them a few folk-dance

turns, the folk dancers and musicians nevertheless were barely mentioned in the evaluation. When asked about their opinion of the folk dancing group the organizers answered as if they almost had forgotten their participation. The same kind of reaction was noticeable when I asked about the blue and yellow flowers that decorated the huge stairs that lead up to the Golden Hall and about other markings that can be categorized as traditional Swedish.

Giving form to Swedish ambivalence

Perhaps the lack of interest for these Swedish markings was coincidental, but an alternative interpretation is to regard it as an example of what the British social scientist Michael Billig labels "the routine flagging of the nation" (1997). Perhaps the traditionally Swedish markers were used in such a "routine" way as to become invisible. However, I suggest another interpretation. The denial of the Swedish folk group and the other traditional markers might indicate a strongly felt ambivalence towards traditional nationalism by the organizers. In an interview with one of the participating local politicians[14] she started by stating that she is not fond of "The Day of the Swedish Flag, the royal family and those sorts of things". She continued by telling me that the only reason why she volunteered to take part was that she has the impression that the ceremony is very important for many of the new citizens. Her views are common among the educated Swedish middle class with political sympathies from the left and the liberal side. The origin of a negative or ironically detached attitude towards traditional national markers can be traced back to the 1950s and 1960s. The ethnologist Orvar Löfgren connects it with the Swedish ambition to be the most modern nation in the world. "This was an era when nationalism was seen as a child's disease, a stage which modern and mature states should have left behind. […] the rational and common-sense should rule rather than nostalgia for a patriotic past" (Löfgren 2000:232–233). To be called "un-Swedish" during this period was taken as a compliment by many Swedes, and it was considered old fashioned and ridiculous to wave the flag or sing the national anthem (2000: 233).[15] Of course other attitudes existed as well, but many persons who were young in the sixties and seventies still embrace this set of ideas. Many of the civil servants who, by their work, are now responsible for arranging the National Day celebrations and welcoming ceremonies all over the country can be expected to have their ideological background in this set of anti-patriotic ideas. In the welcoming ceremony in Stockholm this was strongly articulated. One example is the performance by the Swedish singer and songwriter Mikael Wiehe. Among the songs he sang was *Det här är ditt land*,[16] introduced as an alternative national anthem. Towards the end of the ceremony he was asked to lead a unison singing of the national anthem. Wiehe started out with an intonation full of irony and pretended not to know the lyrics of

Du gamla du fria. One of the officials apparently reacted, a bit nervously, and handed him the invitation card which had the song printed on its back. The performer declined it and said that he had lived in this country for more than fifty years and knew the words. Then he started to sing the song in an exaggeratedly solemn manner. The performance made me reflect about the directions of the communication at the ceremony and to whom the different messages were directed. It was obvious that the new citizens were not the addressees of the ironic behaviour of the singer. Rather it was directed at the Swedish audience, i.e. officials, politicians and mass media.

This ambivalence was not articulated in any of the five interviews I conducted with new Swedish citizens. In their opinion the national representations were natural elements in an event of this kind. This does not necessarily mean that they had an emotional relationship to the *Swedish* national symbols. National identity is a combination of the view of one's nation as something unique and the insight that it is part of a universal system consisting of nations (Billig 1995:87).[17] All over the world nations make use of the same set of symbols to mark their uniqueness. There has to be a flag, a national anthem, a national cuisine and a unique history. Furthermore, there have to be other countries serving as contrasts (Löfgren 1993:87). One conclusion is that the new citizens probably recognized the national markings irrespective of their national background. Singing *Du gamla du fria* together aroused emotions because it is *a* national anthem. It is also important to take into consideration that the new citizens are of very miscellaneous backgrounds. They are from very different places in the world, they have lived in Sweden for different lengths of time, and their reasons for moving here and becoming Swedish citizens differ as well. According to my interviews with new citizens, it is also probable that the ceremony made many of them reflect on what they had left and what they had gained.

An imagined National community

In this paper *nationalism* has been used several times in the context of an ideologically coloured set of ideas revolving around the dichotomy between a negative and undesired version of nationalism and a good and positive version. The social scientist Benedict Anderson (1993) coined the expression *imagined communities*. His point is that all communities have to be imagined, created and recreated continuously to be understood and accepted as important, "real" and "true". The special category of communities we know as *nations* are no exception. In Anderson's terminology *nationalism* is the ideological glue that keeps the imagined national communities together. It consists of people's actions, rituals, narratives and ideas. This, however, by no means implies that Anderson regards nations as fakes or "not real". What he believes is that even in the smallest nation the citizens

will never know all of their fellow-citizens, and still the idea of some kind of community is in their mind. National communities are among the strongest and most widely spread imaginations the world has seen, and this makes it hard to imagine a world organized according to other principles (Anderson 1993). Nationalism is expressed in different ways at different times and in different places, but one ingredient is almost always included: the idea of a common past. This is one of the reasons why I find it interesting, in a society that often is described in terms like multicultural, how history is used to create or perhaps to restore the past as an inclusive togetherness. The use of history at Hågelby exemplifies this endeavour.

The contemporary strength of the nation states is constantly under debate. Economic and social globalization is mentioned as a reason for the declining importance of the nations. On the other hand, national borders are still of great significance, especially for those who not are allowed to cross them (Thörn 2002:42–52). Travelling with a Swedish passport is a different experience from travelling with a third world passport, not to mention what it means to have no passport at all. Another important aspect is that social welfare systems are mostly constructed at national levels and dependent on the citizens' preparedness to share resources with one another. Furthermore, citizenship in a nation state entails (or is supposed to entail) certain political and juridical rights.

In this paper I have dealt with officially organized events connected with the 6 June celebrations in Sweden. Two such celebrations have been examined in depth: the welcoming ceremony for new citizens in the City Hall of Stockholm, and the celebration of the National Day at Hågelby Gård. At Hågelby a multicultural history was used to create an inclusive atmosphere. I have found no other example where that special kind of history use has been practised with such a total consistency as at Hågelby, although an attempt to connect the immigrants of today with those of past times is a frequently recurring component in speeches. With the ceremony at Stockholm as an example I have tried to show how the ambivalence of the organizers permeated many elements of the event. It may well be possible to use these experiences in order to develop strategies to solve the problem of how to combine a harmless Swedish nationalism with an attitude that favours inclusion, national cohesion and anti-racism.

As mentioned at the beginning of the paper, *Svenska flaggans dag* (the National Flag Day) and later the National Day have been and are being celebrated every year at Skansen, in schools and in other public arenas. However, the interest in the National Day and its celebrations, especially in comparison with many other countries, has been quite low. In the 90's the interest was increasing and the Riksdag hoped that making 6 June a work-free day would strengthen the citizens' interest in this particular event even more. Nevertheless a worry lingered that people would not respond and take

the opportunity to celebrate. Maybe a majority would not find the celebrations meaningful, or maybe they would prefer to spend the day in other ways: working in their gardens, relaxing in front of the television or shopping with their friends. There have not been any statistical surveys on this matter, but participation seems to be increasing and the celebrations are definitely getting more attention in the media.[18]

Another worry was that right-wing nationalists might take over and dominate the day. It is a well-known fact that ceremonies and rituals are hard to control even if they are organized by the authorities.[19] It will be of great interest to follow the development of the celebrations in years to come. Will the idea of a multicultural history be on display, and if so, how will it be presented? Will an increasing number of Swedes, "new" and "old", take part in the festivities, or will they create new private traditions for this work-free day? Will traditional national symbols achieve a renewed influence, and who will have the preferential right to interpret what is the good and the bad version of nationalism?

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Pripp, Oscar, Emil Plisch, Saara Prinz Werner 2005: Tid för mångfald. En studie av de statligt finansierade kulturinstitutionernas arbete med etnisk och kulturell mångfald, genomförd av Mångkulturellt centrum, Botkyrka, på uppdrag av Kulturdepartementet. Tumba.

Ulfstrand, Anna 2003. Välkommen som medborgare i Sverige! En studie av medborgarskapsceremonin i Stockholms stadshus. Uppsats för magisterkurs i Etnologi. Sockholm.

Thörn, Håkan 2002. *Globaliseringens dimensioner. Nationalstat, välfärdssamhälle, demokrati och migration.* Stockholm.

Westin Charles 1999. *Mångfald, integration, rasism och andra ord. Ett lexikon över begrepp inom IMER – Internationell migration och etniska relationer.* Stockholm.

1 This study was a part of the project "Holidays and Feasts – Folklore, Migration and Cultural Heritage". See Pettersson & Ulfstrand 2007.

2 The Nordiska museet is Sweden's largest museum of national cultural history.

3 See Blehr (2000) for a problematization of the Norwegian *Syttende mai* celebration. According to Blehr the Norwegian national celebration is far more complex than it is often understood in Sweden (2000).

4 Midsummer was actually a day discussed as candidate for becoming the National Day before Hazelius chose 6 June.

5 Queen Kristina ruled Sweden 1632–1654.

6 Botkyrka has tried to market the municipality as a place where diversity is looked upon as a positive fact. The slogan of Botkyrka, for example, is "Långt ifrån lagom" ("Far from just right").

7 The present Swedish king Carl XVI Gustaf descends from King Karl XIV Johan who came from the French House of Bernadotte to become Swedish king in 1818. Silvia, the Queen of Sweden, was born in Germany. Her father was German and her mother is Brazilian.

8 See Damsholt 2007 for an analysis of the welcoming ceremony in Lund on 6 June and http://www.nationaldagen.se/menu.do?menuid=89024&lang=sv.

9 Tumba Bruk is situated in the municipality of Botkyrka. It is the printing company where

Swedish banknotes have been manufactured since the company was founded by the Bank of Sweden.

10 At that time Sweden did not recognize dual citizenship. That changed in 2001.

11 The committee is appointed by the Riksdag to promote the interest of the National Day and the Swedish flag. See: http://www.nationaldagen.se.

12 See Damsholt 2007 for an interesting analysis of how the concept of *folket* (the people) is handled in ceremonies in Sweden, Denmark and Norway.

13 Interestingly, a few years later when I interviewed the director of information at Botkyrka she said that her only requirment of the organizers at Hågelby for the following year was that they should engage *FlamencOrient*.

14 Politicians from all parties represented in the Municipal Council of Stockholm take part in the ceremony. Their main role is to present the hand-printed diplomas to the new Swedish citizens.

15 This does not mean an absence of national feelings. They were rather expressed in terms of pride in the Swedish welfare, Swedish foreign policy and Swedish technology.

16 This is Wiehe's interpretation of *This Land is Your Land* (1940) by the American folk-singer Woody Guthrie. The song has been regarded as an alternative to the national anthem of the USA. The Swedish interpretation *Det här är ditt land* was recorded in 2000. It is included in the album *En sång till Modet* by Mikael Wiehe.

17 The theory of nationalism is a very broad field; some works that may be mentioned are Billig 1995, Hobsbawn 1991, Hylland Eriksen 1993.

18 www.nationaldagen.se, accessed 16 March 2008.

19 That worry is by no means unjustified. The website www.nationaldagen.nu is one example where Swedes are encouraged to take part in a march on 6 June where the living conditions for (ethnic) Swedes will be on focus. The site has several links to extreme right-wing organizations. In 2006 anti-fascist groups and extreme nationalist groups were fighting in the city of Stockholm and caused a lot of damage. In 2007 the Stockholm police received many applications for organized marshes and demonstrations on 6 June.

Reviews

Expressions of Grief on German Roadsides

Christine Aka: Unfallkreuze. Trauerorte am Strassenrand. Waxmann. Münster/New York/Munich/Berlin 2007. 299 pp. Ill.

Christine Aka has published a wide-ranging study of the crosses erected at scenes of fatal traffic accidents in the province of Westphalia-Lippe in north-western Germany. The present publication is a habilitation work in the fields of history and philosophy. It has been submitted to and approved by the Wilhelms University of Münster in Westphalia.

The overall approach of the book is to determine why people consider scenes of accidents as being special places and, further, the meaning attributed to the various symbols on and around the crosses. Is this merely a matter of commemoration or is something more involved? The author has seen the study of emotions and personal motivations as being more important than any investigation of rituals associated with the crosses.

The study has an obvious empirical basis. The author has herself searched for and created photographic documentation of the crosses and the decorations surrounding them. Such decorations take the form of flowers, candles, letters, photographs of the deceased, toys etc. In some cases, the crosses and their surroundings have been photographed at different times in order to study how the decorations change during the various seasons and with the passage of time since the occurence of the accident.

The crosses disappear after a shorter or longer period of time, as has been documented by means of repeated fieldwork. A large number of the assembled photographs, both in colour and black-and-white, have been reproduced in the book.

A total of 250 crosses were documented in the years 2000 to 2002. They have been erected to commemorate younger persons, especially in the age category 18 to 25 years, who have been killed. The majority of these victims are young men and only very seldom young women or older persons.

Many of the young men have been riding motorcycles. The author has also conducted interviews with the victims' relatives and close friends. Undertaking such interviews involves certain ethical and emotional implications for the scholar, as is to some extent discussed by the author. She advertised for possible informants in newspapers, on the radio and on television. A number of people, mostly women and mothers of the victims, contacted her. They said that they were prepared to recount their difficult experiences. They were in the 50-to-60-year age group and belonged to many different occupational groups. The author conducted and recorded interviews lasting some three to four hours with fifteen families in their homes. Some of these informants were Catholics, but the majority were Protestants or non-believers. In addition to interviews in a family setting, sixteen telephone interviews were carried out with informants who did not wish to be contacted in their homes. They wished to maintain a certain distance to the interviewer due to the topic's extremely emotive character.

The author has also made contact with twenty-two friends of the accident victims. Numerous anonymized quotations are found in the text presented by the author in her book.

Some informants have let her see their collections of newspaper articles and letters to the editors concerning the accident and also their own photographs of the relevant accident site. Mourners have even taken letters containing messages to the deceased person to their homes in order to copy them. Such letters have been placed near the crosses by anonymous or, in some cases, identifiable friends.

The persons being interviewed have placed great emphasis on trying to imagine the final minutes before the accident occurred. In some cases, they have engaged the services of a spiritualistic medium. Mourners find a certain consolation in the fact that the deceased has not suffered pain. Most of them have decided to visit the site of the accident as soon as possible. They are accompanied by relatives or close friends in order to reduce their anquish. The wooden crosses that are usually placed at the site immediately after the accident have been made and erected by male relatives or friends. The author interprets this as being an expression of men's emotions through practical actions. The crosses that have appeared in connection with the initial state of shock have contributed to giving parents a certain amount of comfort. The continued visitations to and decoration of the accident sites are, however, carried out by women, not men. There are many instances of a number of crosses being erected to commemorate the same victim. This has been done by different individuals in the immediate circle of the deceased's relatives and friends.

In a historical sense, crosses alongside roads have been common in Catholic districts for many years. They are especially linked to a wave of Catholic revivalism in the mid- 1800s. The religious symbolism expressed as gratitude and prayers for protection has been paramount. The author does not believe, however, that the newly erected and contemporary crosses constitute a continuation of an older religious tradition. These new crosses are, in fact, never interpreted in religious terms by relatives or friends, except by the three actively practising Catholic families interviewed by the author. In such cases, the crosses can sometimes take the form of a crucifix. This is the more case in the Catholic-dominated Bavaria than in the religiously intermingled Westphalia.

Several informants have had difficulties in giving verbal expression for their motives in erecting the crosses. Ideas of giving proof of love and remembrance are usually dominant reasons. Conceptions about warning other road users sometimes also arise. Crosses are seen as being symbols of death and publicly expressed sorrow and not as communicating any specific Christian meaning. A comparably melancholy opinion of crosses on gravestones is something I have observed in recent years in Sweden. In Norway and Sweden, however, crosses have only minor importance in the marking of a roadside accident site. Symbols expressing light, especially candles, flowers and written messages, have instead been used.

Manifestations of this kind have also begun to be expressed on the Internet. The author's investigations indicate that the use of lighted candles is especially evident during the first days following an accident, and that they can then be present in great numbers. According to the informants, candles stimulate memories of the deceased, and that they therefore should not be quenched during this first period. They do not indicate any religious trains of thought, such as the placement of lighted candles on graves previously expressed.

Flowers are just as customarily used as lighted candles at the scenes of accidents. They are seen as being a gift to the victim and are eventually replaced by artificial

flowers. A tree can be planted in certain cases to express a memory that will continue to exist for a long period of time.

Among objects placed at the site are angels, figures of St Nicolas and Christmas cards at Christmas-time, and bunny rabbits and eggs during Easter. Teddy bears and other toys are also fairly common. In addition, stimulants such as beer and cigarettes can be left as a symbolical gift to the victim. I have found nothing comparable to this in Norway or Sweden where there is no connection between food and graves in recent years. Another phenomenon that I have not observed in Norway or Sweden concerns the placement of crushed parts of the accident vehicle, such as a broken wing mirror or a brake light from a motorcycle. The accident's horrifying substance is thus made visible to the onlooker in a grotesque form. Photographs of the deceased also can be met with in some cases. The many instances of written messages which have been placed by the crosses, and which often have been composed by young people, have an extremely emotional content. They express powerlessness and helplessness, but also include specific greetings to the deceased. This shows that the mourner expects that a form of proximity can be achieved by means of an imaginary dialogue with the victim. The writer thus transcends the boundary between the living and the dead. She or he can conceive of a coming reunion in a vague future, something that is in keeping with neo-religious tendencies. Religion and ritual actions have in this way obviously become individualized. The interviews also reveal a general impression that the next of kin expect to meet the deceased in an unknown future, although this is not taken as evidence of any belief in God.

Decorating and visiting the scene of the accident on the first anniversary after it has occurred have come to have a special importance. This is something I have also observed in Norway and Sweden in recent years. The new rituals that have arisen have become of obvious aid to the next of kin in connection with the lengthy process of mourning. They constitute a clear indication of the fact that the circle of friends and relatives has not forgotten the shocking event. Such tangible actions on anniversaries also indicate that death in our time is neither thrust away out of sight or tabooed.

The book reviewed here has been of great interest in that it provides a comparative perspective on the development of death rituals in Norway and Sweden, which have been enormously transformed in later years. There are both similarities and differences in relation to Germany. Cultural scientific research on death rituals and grief, which in international useage is termed thanatology, has increased markedly in Scandinavia during the past years and been the source of several new publications. It is important that such research continues to be aware of comparable events in the nearby, non-Nordic world, something that this review has attempted to illuminate.

Anders Gustavsson,
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Studies of Nordic Revivals

Revival and Communication. Studies in the History of Scandinavian Revivals 1700–2000. Arne Bugge Amundsen (ed.). Bibliotheca Historico-Ecclesiastica Lundensis 49, Lund 2007. 175 pp.

Since 2001 Nordic revival researchers have met regularly for conferences. The first was held in Åbo, the second in Fredrikstad in 2003, and the third in Christiansfeld, Denmark, the centre of the Moravian church in Scandinavia. Most of the proceedings from Fredrikstad have now been published as volume 49 of Bibliotheca Historico-Ecclesiastica Lundensis, edited by the Oslo profes-

sor Arne Bugge Amundsen. The eight papers have been assembled under the heading *Revival and Communication: Studies in the History of Scandinavian Revivals 1700–2000.*

An introductory essay by the editor is followed by the papers, mostly in chronological order. Five of the eight contributions represent revival studies in Sweden, with one each from Denmark, Finland, and Norway. As the title of the book shows, all the papers are published in English.

Daniel Lindmark, professor of history and history teaching in Umeå, draws attention to three ecstatic revivals in northern Sweden in the 1770s and 1780s, one led by Fredrik Thingvall in Nederluleå, one by Nils Wiklund in Överluleå, and one by Mårten Thunberg in Lillhärdal. Similar movements arose in southern Sweden too, although they are not considered in Lundmark's analysis.

A significant role in the general debate about these revivals was played by the medical science of the time, about which Lundmark writes in detail, bringing in international evidence, for instance about enthusiasm as an illness, sometimes of an infectious character. From the communicative point of view the message was considered false, and the methods used were questioned.

In the subsequent decade the Norwegian peasant Hans Nielsen Hauge received his call, "an experience of profound ecstatic and supernatural character". Until his death in 1824 he travelled far and wide, preaching his pietist interpretation of the faith, which led to the foundation of a separate faction in the Norwegian church.

Hauge's message was spread not only through oral preaching but also through letters, to both individuals and communities, and printed works, which Arne Bugge Amundsen analyses in his paper. The author dwells especially on unpublished letters to and by Hauge, which according to Amundsen fill a "communicative vacuum". The interesting thing about this correspondence is how Hauge's printed works were received by his sympathizers. In addition, we gain an idea of how Hauge's message was passed on from one person to another, as well as details of "enemies" of the message preached by the leader. "Letters and books contributed to inclusion and exclusion, communication and control. The use of printed and unprinted material helped to create a movement."

The Uppsala scholar Cecilia Wejryd wrote a doctoral dissertation about the revival centred around Erik Jansson from Biskopskulla in Uppland and his colony Bishop Hill in the USA. In her contribution she describes how this sect leader communicated with his supporters, the position he claimed, and how he used biblical quotations in his correspondence.

Another revival leader was Lars Levi Laestadius. He was active in northern Lapland, where he founded mission schools. This has been studied by the Åbo professor Sölve Anderzén. He compares these schools with the schools run by the Swedish Missionary Society further south. The former are described by the author as "sparks that lit the flame of revival", that is, establishments that contributed to evangelization and the spread of Laestadius' interpretation of the faith.

Kurt E. Larsen gives a survey of Danish revival studies, pointing out how the main focus has been on the movements within the church, above all through the work of scholars like Lindhardt and Thyssen, while movements outside the church have been left in the background. However, there has been a change in the last decade since Elith Olesen drew attention to the outside influence, chiefly Anglo-Saxon. Larsen thus presents Olesen's almost thousand- page dissertation about American- British influence on ecclesiastical life in Denmark, a study that is a valuable and necessary addition to a field hitherto neglected in research on Danish church history.

Completely new angles on church history are provided by Hans Andreasson's very interesting article about the importance that rock music has had as a means of communication in Swedish free churches since the 1970s and 1980s, a study of great value particularly for sociologists and ethnologists of religion.

Song and music have always been of crucial significance as a form of communication in revival movements. The charismatic movement with, among others, the Jesus people, a Christian hippie movement, and the growth of a Christian music industry, however, changed the situation radically. Artists such as Andrée Crouch and others made their entry on church stages with a totally new style, inspired by American youth culture in their clothes and forms of expression.

The author first analyses the production of four music groups, two American and two Swedish. The songs and music of the group Petra were focused on the struggle against "the world, the flesh, and the devil", while the Resurrection Band concentrated on the world, society, and the family. The latter group with its connection to the sister church of Svenska Missionsförbundet in the USA, the Evangelical Covenant Church and its education centre North Park College in Chicago, thus applied a more social perspective in their lyrics. The two Swedish groups examined in the paper are Jerusalem and Leviticus. Jerusalem's third album is described as "aggressive", while Leviticus focuses on "the victory over the devil", borrowing motifs from the Bible, with pictures and symbols of Christian life. In the 1980s this style of music was perceived in different ways in the Swedish free churches. In 1983 the Pentecostalists, through their newspaper *Dagen*, rejected it for its associations with satanism and drugs. The then organ of Svenska Missionsförbundet, *Swedish Veckotidning*, adopted a different stance. This community argued against the commercial interests but not against the forms of expression that were used. "The problem was not the music itself but the banality of the words and the tendency to make music into a business commodity like any other."

Hans Andreasson's article would be a good start to an interdisciplinary research project in which historians of revivals and congregations could collaborate with music and media researchers, historians of literature and economics, sociologists, ethnologists, and behavioural scientists, etc. It would undoubtedly be a relevant project for our times, well worth investing in.

The book ends with a couple of papers that are more out of the ordinary. The first is presented by the ethnologist of religion Katarina Lewis and is, as the editor writes in his introduction, "a critical and personal pamphlet". She analyses how some religious topics have been handled in the media in recent years, above all proceeding from an interview with the former Archbishop of Sweden K. G. Hammar, in which he expressed a highly personal interpretation of the faith, and the media debate that ensued.

In the last contribution to the book Professor Anders Gustavsson asks whether belonging to a revival movement affects the choice of texts and symbols on gravestones. The study, which is geographically confined to Bohuslän in Sweden and Østfold in Norway, shows, among other things, that Christian texts and symbols such as "God", "Jesus", and "Lord" and references to the Bible, along with motifs such as angels and expressions or reunion after death, are more common in Norway than in Sweden.

The report from the conference on revivals in 2003 thus contains material that is far from homogeneous, although communication is the running theme. Some of the papers are forward-looking in that they give incentives for research tasks of an interdisciplinary character. This particularly concerns the use of dif-

ferent means of communication, in this case in the service of revival.

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Broadsides about Crime and Punishment 1708–1937

Hans Andersson: Aldrig kommer duvungar blå utav korpäggen vita. Skillingtryck om brott och straff 1708–1937. Utgivna och kommenterade av Hans Andersson. (Svenska visor, utgivna av Kungl. Gustaf Adolfs Akademien för svensk folkkultur, 2.) Uppsala, Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademien för svensk folkkultur, 2006. 184 pp. Ill.

Swedish broadsides are preserved from as early as the end of the sixteenth century. For about 350 years a considerable number of ballads were spread through these simple printed sheets, which mainly contained narrative and emotionally charged texts. As literacy, communications, and printing facilities improved, the broadside repertoire expanded to include lyrics specially written for the public, set to familiar tunes. In the nineteenth century "news ballads" attained a significant place in the broadsides. Hans Andersson has selected a number of ballads and poems from the collections of the Swedish Royal Library, all dealing with serious crimes. The oldest are from the start of the eighteenth century, but the majority were printed in the nineteenth century, in the heyday of the broadside. The last example is from 1937, when these mass-produced sheets had long since lost their function.

The vast majority of the crimes are murder or manslaughter, but there are also ballads dealing with incest, assault, mutiny, and theft, and at the end a ballad about a confidence trickster. Some of the texts are about famous crimes and criminals, for example, about the priest in Sillbodal who in the 1860s poisoned a childhood friend and several parishioners with the communion wine, about the Yngsjö murder in 1889 and the "steamboat murderer" Nordlund, who in 1900 killed the captain and several passengers on the *Prins Carl* in Lake Mälaren. As a reader I am touched by the human tragedies retold by the ballads. The line that provided the title for the book, for example, comes from a ballad "About Signe Christina Pehrsdotter, who for committing incest with her Father received her rightful punishment at the Place of Execution in Gothenburg on 9 Dec. 1741". The text tells in first-person form about how the girl was raped by her father at the age of 13. Now she says that she too was guilty, *For never did a blue young pigeon / come out of a white raven's egg.*

In the introduction Andersson says that the ballads are "an important entrance to the study of popular judicial culture" (p. 7) and that they give insight into the way people think about crime and punishment. Here he also gives a brief commentary on how these ballad texts have changed over time. The texts from the 18th century are usually in first-person form. In the nineteenth century this was gradually replaced by an anonymous narrator. Andersson says that the idea that "we all doomed sinners" was replaced by an outlook that described the criminal as "more or less monstrous" (p. 16). The criteria for the selection are that the ballads should be interesting and exciting, and that they illuminate "themes that have been considered in research" (p. 10). Andersson has also selected several broadside ballads in which the main character is a woman, "to show the contrast between male and female when it comes to the criminal identity" (p. 12). The bibliography at the end of the introduction mostly contains references to the field of crime and punishment; I find only one reference to earlier research about the actual broadside ballads and their repertoire.

After the ten-page introduction there

is a selection of ballads about 45 crimes, in some cases represented by several different ballads. Before each text, as Andersson describes in the introduction, there are "parts of prose narratives and other information" (p. 15) taken from the actual broadsides. The Royal Library classification mark for each broadside is also given. Roughly half of the ballads are followed by the author's comments of varying length, mostly concerning the circumstances of the crime. Some texts are illustrated with the front of the broadside.

It is highly unfortunate that Hans Andersson has chosen to quote only some of the information on the actual broadsides, since this deprives the ballads of important parts of their contexts. There are, for example, no details about the publisher or place of printing. I find, for example, a ballad about "the unfortunate chauffeur Frans Söderberg" (p. 166), who was killed on Danska Vägen. I recognize the text and know that it takes place in Gothenburg, but we are told nothing about this, since there is no commentary to guide the reader. The same applies to several ballads. After two texts about "the murderer Viktor Göte's last and candid confession", Andersson has a long commentary in which he says that the murderer's mother was unmarried and his father was unknown, and he thinks that the text shows "what becomes of a person who from childhood lacks an upbringing and the softening influence that motherly care exerts on natural brutality" (p. 118). Since the actual text of the ballad does not say anything about this, the reader wonders whether this is information that Andersson himself has taken from an omitted introduction in the broadside or is pure speculation, since no further reference is provided. I also lack a summarizing discussion where the reader, having shared all these human fates, could follow Hans Andersson's ideas about, for example, the difference between male and female criminal identity.

Why certain ballads are left without comment is unclear. In some cases the reader is not told anything at all about the background to the crime and the context of the ballad. As a result, many of them are difficult to understand. After the text about the murder by poison in Sillbodal there is a very brief comment, in which Andersson writes that the priest, according to the song, made an unsuccessful suicide attempt. "He was never executed, however, since a later suicide attempt succeeded" (p. 124). The reference that occurs in a footnote on the same page says that Andersson obtained this information "from a conversation with Martin Bergman". Since the murders in Sillbodal are among the most famous crimes in the nineteenth century, about which much has been written, it is incomprehensible to me that Andersson has no formal references and does not give the reader a proper description of the background to the ballads. For example, a short biography of the priest, Anders Lindbäck, written by Anders Edestam, is available in the Karlstad diocesan *Herdaminne*, part 4 (1970).

Hans Andersson seems to be interested above all in the history of crime and mentalities and has consulted very little of the previous research on Swedish broadsides and the ballad repertoire they contain; this research could have been used to enhance this collection considerably. He would also have acquired a different understanding of this genre and the context in which the ballads were composed. Eva Danielson at the Centre for Swedish Folk Music and Jazz Research, for example, has studied the broadsides produced by the Chronwall Brothers around the last turn of the century. Through their "Svenska Visförlaget" they dominated the broadside market in Sweden for a quarter of a century. The contexts of a couple of the broadsides in Andersson's selection are also examined in detail by Danielson, who describes how the ballads were

written and published, the size of the print runs, their sales, and the customers. Danielson says that no less than 20 ballads were written about the steamboat murderer Nordlund, five of them by Jöns Chronwall himself (Danielson in *Sumlen* 1981). Andersson's collection has three ballads about Nordlund, taken from the same broadsides, but they are left without comment or any introductory information.

Ballads about crime and punishment are an exciting part of the broadside repertoire, which could tell a lot about the way people think, but this collection leaves many questions unanswered. The book is number 2 in the series "Svenska visor". The first one appeared in 1949–1955, so it is particularly unfortunate that part two, for which we have had to wait so long, does not convey any profound knowledge about the actual ballads.

Annika Nordström
Gothenburg, Sweden

The Meaning of Potted Plants

Clas Bergvall: Liv, lust och mening. Om krukväxters kulturella betydelser. Etnologiska skrifter, Umeå universitet. Stockholm, Carlsson Bokförlag. 171 pp. Ill. English summary.

An ethnological dissertation about potted plants is a very attractive idea for me. As the author Clas Bergvall notes, it is a neglected topic. His aim in writing the dissertation, he says, is "to show how the care of potted plants has effects far beyond the obvious. I want to capture and describe the experiences created in encounters between people and potted plants […], to investigate how these experiences are shaped, especially the boundary between the private, the personal, and the more collectively controlled" and "the effects that these experiences can have, particularly as regards people's perceptions of themselves and their place in the world" (pp. 21f.). His aim is thus to investigate the creation of meaning, and he seeks to do this via potted plants, choosing something small to be able to show that there are signs of something larger and more general, revealing "important matters in people's lives" (p. 9). In the relation between potted plants and people, he says, "special production of meaning takes place […] because it is more unplanned and spontaneous but simultaneously gives people a space and a position". Yet here I already start to wonder as a reader: is the production of meaning that takes place in relation to potted plants really so unplanned and spontaneously unconscious as Bergvall claims, and if so in relation to what other kinds of material meaning-production?

The dissertation starts by observing that for most people today it is taken for granted that there should be potted plants in their home. "It makes a house into a home" is a common point of view – for the author too. In the material collected for the dissertation there were on average thirty plants per home. In this chapter we visit a pensioner couple who have moved from a detached house with a garden to a flat. Sara tells of the old Christmas cactus that hangs today in the same way as in her childhood home, and about the children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren who have been given shoots from it, about how important it is to tend plants correctly because "then they think that they have to blossom to be allowed to stay". She says about a flower in a dark corner that "it's something I got last Christmas. I don't know what it is, I just put it there and it's drying". The next moment she says: "I love flowers and think it's fun to watch them grow. That they come back." The interview is full of emotions, action, and joy. There are memories of a world that no longer exists, but also a feeling for life and how important it is that life goes on." He adds that flowers "can serve as

a point of entry into rooms that are otherwise often closed and difficult for outsiders to penetrate" (p. 13). But Bergvall does not take the chance he is given here to enter rooms where annihilation and death are found. All through the dissertation he is strictly focused on the unconscious, the living, the joyful. The reason we have potted plants may lie on a structural level, connected with movements that have distanced us from nature, the author reasons, but with a "solely structural perspective we develop very little understanding of what the care of potted plants means for people", and with the aid of cultural analysis he wants to ask questions about what people think and feel on an existential level.

In chapter 2 Bergvall presents his collected material and his theory and method. He is searching for the ambivalent and the personal, and adopts the perspectives of phenomenology and social constructivism. He wants to reach both what is recognizable and what gives aha-experiences. The ambition to achieve "these somewhat contradictory goals", he says, prevents him from using "a pre-selected conceptual apparatus" (p. 25). The actor's perspective is the method he chooses in order to become familiar with the field, and he combines this in the analysis with classification according to themes. He regards people's linguistic expressions as central in the concrete description and sustainable analysis that he wants to perform in people's lived world. The material is extensive: he himself has conducted fifteen interviews with people including flower dealers and over a hundred of his high-school pupils have participated for several years, collecting questionnaire responses about potted plants in their own homes and writing comments of their own. Above all he has used the responses to a questionnaire about potted plants and cut flowers, distributed by the Nordic Museum in 1971 to 276 informants. The interest here was in obtaining answers about flowers as interior decoration, as well as the significance of flowers for relations between people. In this chapter the author reports on a conversation with eight elderly people in a pensioners' home, showing, as Bergvall tells us, not just how people as individuals relate to potted plants but also the community of memories and emotions that can be aroused by talking about them. The chapter ends with an old woman in this conversation suddenly starting to tell about a hazardous trip she had long ago on a kick-sleigh. Bergvall describes it as a narrative that has lost all connection with the conversation about plants and takes it as a sign of how potted plants can easily lead on to more existential issues. For me this is far too bold a conclusion. There are several such weakly substantiated claims in the dissertation.

Chapter 3 gives a historical description of how the custom of having potted plants emerged, and how its power as a social marker has diminished so that instead it signals a more personal reflection of an individual. Above all it describes how the view of house and home has been transformed from a physical place to a living home with potted plants. Ellen Key's enthusiastic campaign to get everyone to beautify their homes is quoted: "bringing the sun into the room and having a shelf of neatly arranged books, a couple of good woodcuts and phototypes", followed by the author's exclamation: "It is a highly living environment that is described." Then comes another quotation from Key: "where the floors have a dazzling white sheen and beautiful rag rugs form paths on the floors; where home-made white curtains admit the sun on to the well-tended flowerpots." After this the author writes: "Here, at least for someone like me who grew up in a tradition where this way of looking at the home seems natural and proper, it is easy to see and feel, almost without reflection,

how the sunlight dances in a home with a light and true atmosphere. In this picture of the good home, flowerpots are a given ingredient" (pp. 52ff.).

Through time potted plants became cheaper to buy and it was not necessary to force one's own plants. Inside the home the plants were in a female domain, but the author finds that "the boundary between male and female when it comes to potted plants is not always as clear as it at first seems" and thereby abandons gender as an element in the analysis (p. 68). Instead Bergvall, with reference to a study by Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton (1981), wants to emphasize that there is a "personification" encapsulated in things, including the plants in the home, rather than a materialism. He points out – without examining the statement – that it has been found that people who have few things that they present as significant in their homes often lack close social relations. Bergvall's study also confirms what so clearly emerges from the cited interviews in the dissertation: that the plants carry motifs on the personal level, that they give aesthetic pleasure, and that they generate a dialogue on different levels. But how is it possible, Bergvall wonders, that this individual meaning-production can be achieved with identical, mass-produced potted plants? In response he refers to the ethnologist Annette Rosengren's dissertation: *Två barn och eget hus* (1992), where she shows that, even though homes seem to be identical in appearance and function, they are still perceived as personal creations.

In chapter 4 Bergvall investigates how the trade organization Blomsterfrämjandet and the flower shops perceive people's relationship to potted plants. What is surprising here is how much the staff, while they can talk about their love of flowers, simultaneously seem to feel obliged to emphasize that it is hard work, nothing like as easy as people seem to think. This stress on the negative side of the work, according to the author, must be understood against the background of how positive many people feel about flowers in their home – can it really be work? Many people come into the shop mainly to talk, but often they also say something personal about where they plan to put a plant or talk about their memory of a plant. Someone has noticed that young pregnant women buy flowers for themselves: "they want to arrange the nest." Bergvall views this as proof that those who sell potted plants feel that they "slip into people's lives and become something very important" (p. 102). He also notes that people in the trade talk about plants in the same way as the customers people talk about plants in their home.

The meaning of the answers to the questions that Bergvall asks of his categories of material is similar, he notes at the start of chapter 5, especially between the questionnaire responses from 1971 and today's answers, but they also harmonize "well with the views formulated in Ellen Key's spirit at the start of the twentieth century" (p. 105). But the author wants to go further by focusing on individual meanings in people's narratives, on themes, even though he believes that their statements are often total "in the sense that very much comes out at once". Breaking out one statement would then mean exercising "mild coercion on the reality that the informants themselves describe" (p. 111). That coercion is exercised especially on the answers to the museum's questionnaires that serve here to illustrate themes such as potted plants as a zone free from stress, their ability to illustrate the passage of time and life, their significance as aesthetic value and for imagined community. Under these themes the discussion oscillates around what we have seen signs of before, how looking after potted plants is something positive, particularly as a means to recovery, that flowers should be living, not artificial, and should if possible be kept alive be-

tween the generations and with the aid of cuttings. The flowering marks its own time, but it can also mark the end of life. But the beauty is something that people rarely talk about except when it is interwoven with something else. People more often talk about the pleasure of showing off the power of growth in plants.

From the general, chapter 6 turns to put the individual in the centre. Once again we are given a narrative showing how the conversation about a potted plant generates an association with personal life and other narratives about plants that send thoughts in different directions and link past and present and different places and people to each other. Tending plants marks the everyday routine, while age marks the passage of time. For those telling the story it is about their own age.

In the final chapter Bergvall sums up and discusses what has emerged from this study and considers the relationship between objects in general and people's relations to them.

The dissertation has an ambitious approach, especially through the use of a solid body of material. But I very much doubt whether our relationship to and experience of potted plants today has been similar for the last hundred years. The fact that the text leans so much on questionnaire material that was collected for a different purpose back in 1971 makes me wonder about the researcher's own material. Bergvall himself notes that the museum's informants were long accustomed to writing such responses, whereas his pupils and parents are unaccustomed. That is per- haps why the present-day material seems a little thin. The statements have been handled together as if there was no difference in time. The effect of this is that any historical differences have been erased. As a researcher Bergvall wants to be discreet, he does not want to provoke and therefore does not seem to ask his informants questions about matters such as withering, about when plants rot and die, or about throwing away plants that have turned ugly, even through the quoted answers reveal many pointers to such questions. Flowers are living and hence mortal, he writes, and in that way they differ from other personal possessions, but "it would be a high-risk project to ground important existential themes in delicate objects" (p. 43). It is the beautiful and healthy aspects that are communicated. There are no mealy bugs or spinning mites, no insecticide sprays, nor are there any questions about the huge amounts of energy used to force flowers to bloom at a time of year that is unnatural for them. On the other hand, the author stresses the healthy effects of plants for the body and the mind. He often emphasizes the work that it takes to tend plants in the home. This is despite the fact that no statement in the dissertation actually corroborates that people think this. It is a good idea to follow a small path to investigate materiality and people's relation to it, but the author does not exploit the opportunity to penetrate really deeply together with his informants. Throughout the dissertation Berg- vall's own voice is close to the surface.

Bergvall wants to study meaning. The world is full of meaning which shows itself as perceptions. It is not just a matter of registering things but also of thinking, sensory experiences, and doing. In researching processes of meaning-creation one needs to enlist the aid of theoretical tools. Here the researcher could use the phenomenological method, which focuses particularly on the actual doing. I miss the physical handling of potted plants among actors and practices, as this – like emotions – must have been there when Bergvall moved among the plants with his informants. It seems as if the thoughts arose just from speaking about plants. What happens to meaning when a plant is moved from the flower shop to a home, and in what way do people think that they are beautiful,

Bergvall asks. But I find it difficult to find answers to these and several other questions of his. The concept of meaning is contextual and in movement. The question of beauty is asked in every age but always in a different way and with different answers. The individual person's life but also the social surroundings are there in the dissertation. This is an important theme but also always in movement. During the thirty years that passed between the two groups of material, there must be differences in experiences, not least because of the huge market that has arisen for throwaway potted plants. It is evident that potted plants are often linked to memories. This directs attention in an interesting way not just towards the past and present but also to people's identity.

Bergvall's topic is interesting, and in his dissertation he brings out many figures of thought about how potted plants live in people which can be further explored, particularly about what people think and feel on an existential level. The excerpts chosen from the interviews do not show us much of this.

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Swedish Life Cycle Customs

Nils-Arvid Bringéus: Livets högtidsdagar. Stockholm, Carlsson Bokförlag 2007. 332 pp. Ill.

Nils-Arvid Bringéus has published a wide range of books and articles dealing with various aspects of the ritual year. One of his latest volumes is *Livets högtidsdagar*, an updated version of *Livets högtider*, which was originally published in 1987.

Rituals and festivities in all form are in focus today, and the field requires constant scholarly attention. Old customs are treasured, and new, often international feasts find their way to new countries as innovations. There is also a great interest in the background and history of life cycle customs.

The life cycle rituals are individual milestones illustrating living conditions, ideologies and lifestyles. The feasts are also part of a cultural heritage and often have a long and complicated history. The life cycle customs are often church history based on ecclesiastical practices and furthermore they are connected to administrative history.

In an era when enormous amounts of information (often of questionable value) can be found on the Internet, there is indeed a call for a thorough and reliable presentation of the festival year. Bringéus' new book gives pause for thought and arouses new insights. We read about change between ascetic times and times when rituals are cherished. We learn that feasts can die out (for example the custom of "churching"), take new forms (certain burial rituals) and that new flamboyant versions of old traditions can be created (the wedding feast). A reader from Finland notes the exceptional fact that only 36% of all Swedish 15-year-olds take part in the confirmation instruction of the church, while the figure in Finland is 88%. Bringéus has also included a number of new rituals in his book: civil marriage, registered partnerships and separation rituals connected to divorce proceedings.

In his concluding chapter Bringéus states that, despite change and variations, there are some rules that apply to the ritual world through time and place. Such are all rituals' character of experiences for all the senses: sounds, taste, beautiful sights. Today as before we also acknowledge the importance of professional experts when arranging a feast.

When Nils-Arvid Bringéus describes the Swedish life cycle customs, he paints a rich tapestry of past and present. The text takes us through the centuries, both describing wide perspectives and

concentrating on small but significant details.

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The Diary as a Room for the Day
Ann-Catrin Edlund: Ett rum för dagen. En studie av två kvinnors dagboksskrivande i norrländsk jordbruksmiljö. Kulturens Frontlinjer. Kulturgräns 53. Umeå 2007. 281 pp. Ill.

This is an interesting book, well written, and a classic example of solid academic work. It is coherent and well substantiated, austerely restrained, concluding with an orientation towards a larger, more general perspective. The author works in ever diminishing circles to pinpoint answers to her questions about how writing a diary can contribute to the shaping and reshaping of identity. The book was written as part of the research programme "Cultural Boundaries in Northern Scandinavia: Temporal and Spatial Processes". In this context it fills its function very well.

Edlund is a linguist, working in the Department of Scandinavian Languages at Umeå University, but for this material, which concerns two female diarists in Upper Norrland, her approach is interdisciplinary. Her special partner in dialogue has been the artist Maria Sundström. They have travelled together in the physical footsteps of the now deceased women, both geographically and with the aid of conversations with each other and with people in the surrounding districts. Working like a detective, Edlund has searched the diary texts to find out why the women keep a diary, how they went about writing it, what they wrote, when and where they wrote.

The material consists chiefly of extant hand-written diaries, written by Julia Englund 1932–1948 and Linnéa Johansson 1934–1941. Julia lived her life around Luleå in coastal Norrbotten, Linnéa came from the interior of Västerbotten. Edlund does not know much more about Julia than what can be read in her diaries and what she has discovered in archives about the conflicts that occurred in the Baptist congregation to which Julia belonged. In the case of Linnéa, however, Edlund was able to talk to her several times before she died. Edlund has made selections from the two women's diaries. The women likewise sorted their everyday material when they recorded certain moments in the happenings of the day. As Edlund puts it in the title, they create "A Room for the Day".

Few linguists have done research on diaries as historical sources. The topic has been of more interest to historians and ethnologists. The research that has occurred has concerned diary-writing peasants in the nineteenth century. We know very little about diary-writing women outside the bourgeoisie, especially when it comes to women in rural Norrland. In the men's diaries – or rather daily notes – they recorded the weather, when crops were sown, when animals were bought and when they were covered, but virtually nothing was written about women's work. The notes were usually written down in the almanac of the Royal Academy of Sciences, "the ordinary almanac" that was found in so many homes also at the time when these diaries were written. The small space that was allowed in the almanac for each day encouraged people to write something short every day, although many people used every little blank space on the pages. These diaries had a utilitarian function, but they allowed people an opportunity to develop their writing, they instilled a linear perception of time, they required structuring, and they also established a distance to one's own thinking. Julia and Linnéa probably also learned this in their diary writing.

There is a difference of 35 years be-

tween the two women, but despite this they have shared features. They are women, living in simple circumstances, and in the years when their diaries are studied they are both unmarried and self-supporting. They have both had a basic schooling. We know that Linnéa could read, and we may presume that Julia could as well, since she, like most active members of the revival movements, was able to develop her reading ability. Working life for both of them brought them into close contact not just with the agrarian environment but also with everyday bourgeois life; moreover, their work involved geographical mobility. At the same time, the experiences they had were very different, but Edlund makes a point of the fact that the differences reflect the diversity that existed. She notes that: "Women have not and never have had the same living conditions as a group" (p. 41). Here we have two women, she writes, who are exceptions to the customary belief that it is men's mobility that gives meaning to masculinity. Julia and Linnéa are two self-sufficient women whose life situation is characterized not by being tied but by being mobile.

Edlund's definition of what may be called diary writing includes the requirement of regularity and the fact that the writer and the receiver are normally one and the same person. The aim of the study is to investigate why two women from Upper Norrland in the 1930s, with little experience of writing, chose to keep diaries. What forces drove them to write? Why did they take the time to sit down, take out their notebook and pen, and select some of the moments that made up their day to put them on paper and thus preserve the events through writing? What function did writing fill for them? To answer these questions, Edlund analyses the selected diary texts, above all what they record, to what extent the writer herself may be said to be an actor and to what extent feelings, reactions and reflections are expressed. Edlund works in the research tradition of "The New Literacy", a development of the older "Literacy" which confined itself to the study of competence in reading and writing. "The New Literacy" adds the methods of the ethnography of communication. How people use writing is thus placed in the social context where it is employed. She regards writing as an action with a social meaning. It is part of a special social practice, but Edlund writes: "The social practice that applies here is not interaction with other people but is regarded as part of a social practice based on the assumption that the writing act is part of an identity-creating process where the writer carries on a dialogue with herself, with writing as a technique and pen and paper as tools" (pp. 48f).

The focus of the book is on whether and how this diary writing may have affected the identity development of the two writers. Edlund views people as active in the development of the self, and she is inspired by the philosopher Seyla Benhabib and the historian Joan Scott. Both stress people's own participation in the processes that affect the creation of identity, but they simultaneously stress that people's freedom of action is always limited in one way or another by contextual codes. As Edlund considers diary writing as a practice with social meanings, she thereby grants Julia and Linnéa the power to shape and reshape parts of their own self-image through their texts. They choose, consciously or unconsciously, which experiences to write about and how to formulate this, but never in total freedom. There are conventions, not just for what one can write in one's diary but also how to write it. When Edlund chooses to apply a spatial perspective on both the life situation of the diarists and the diary as a written space, she has an opportunity to investigate relations between lived and written space, partly by investigating what functions the writing acts fulfil in different geographical and social spaces, and

whether the women's freedom of action is different in private and public spaces.

From Julia Englund's total of 679 diary pages, Edlund has selected one third to represent four different periods in her life during the years in question, when there were changes in both the private and the public space. There were three years when nothing seems to have been written, 1940–1943. Julia lived and worked together with her elder brother. In the summer and early autumn they lived in two different fishing huts where they caught herring and bleak respectively. The rest of the year they lived in a village about eight kilometres outside Luleå. Julia wove rag rugs, most of which she sold on order to bourgeois families in Luleå. She was profoundly religious, taking an active part in prayer meetings and the practical work of the congregation. Based on Julia's working life, Edlund has sorted the texts into three spaces: those of enterprise, belief, and the household. Julia began to write a diary when she was in her fifties.

Linnéa Johansson was born in a village on the boundary between Ångermanland and Västerbotten. Her first writing involved copying texts, especially lyrics. She kept a diary from the age of 17 and continued to write as long as she had her eyesight. From the diary texts that she wrote during the years in question Edlund has selected one third of the total 500 pages. Her mother died when Linnéa was 16, and she was forced to go out to work. During the selected years she mostly worked as a maid. Three periods, a total of 1.5 years, she spent in bourgeois homes, the rest of the time in agricultural settings, with 18 different employers in all. As a maid in the countryside she always had to be prepared to help out when needed, with outdoor or indoor tasks, and in different households. Edlund has been able to ask a special question of Linnéa's texts: whether the diary writing can be said to fill different functions in different social contexts.

Mobility and change were a feature of both Julia's and Linnéa's everyday life in many respects: geographically, occupationally, and socially. Some major events are found in the texts. They serve as turning points in the women's lives and their writing. It is in the space of faith that Julia's way of writing is changed; this is where the religious acts take place. In the first period she goes virtually every day to the chapel in the village or to prayer meetings in homes. In the second period there are conflicts and she goes less frequently. But she does buy a radio. Several members of the congregation listen to it together, so that this too is a communal activity. Twelve years later she is going frequently to meetings once again. When her brother dies she writes more prayers and thanks. Edlund calls the latter "exercising the faith in writing". Julia often writes about meetings in words like "wonnerful", "very nice" or even "really blissful". It is in this space that she shows her feelings. She is pleased when new members join and she mourns those who have died. When the schism divides the congregation she criticizes it and can say negative things about people at the meetings and even the pastor's behaviour. When her brother dies there is a noticeable increase in her praises of the Lord, and she now takes an interest not just in the welfare and health of others but also her own. The texts become longer, especially in the last period, and it becomes increasingly clear how she can give greater space to emotions and values.

For Linnéa, it is in her work in the bourgeois setting, with the widower and insurance man in Umeå, that the great change happens. When she first works for her elder sister, an elementary-school teacher but married to a farmer, it is the man's work that is noted. He and his farm are the main characters. She records his travels, but when she herself

is visible it is in connection with geographical moves. She sells flower pins for charity and a the farming magazine *Såningsmannen*. She visits relatives, goes to the May Eve bonfire, and visits the cinema. A few years later, when she is working in a bourgeois setting for the first time, it is a noticeably different, alien environment. Here she works only indoors and she describes her chores, which differ from those she used to have; above all she works alone, in contrast to the communal jobs on the farm. Now it is Linnéa who is in the centre, her work and her emotions. The work is heavy and strenuous, and she expresses strong feelings of loneliness and abandonment. But she is more mobile geographically and can meet her relatives and above all another maid and her boyfriend. Here she encounters a different world, and in her diary she reflects on the difference between her employer's social circumstances and her own. She also writes about the need to write only what she can stand by. When she returns to a farming context she continues to document the work she does individually as much as the collective labour, and continues to write about her emotions and values.

Both women sign their daily texts, Julia often after a "thanks be to God" and her Christian name, Linnéa often with her whole name and address. By retelling one's actions, thoughts, and feelings one creates a personal space, becoming visible to oneself, Edlund points out. Linnéa first becomes visible in a bourgeois setting. In the text she highlights her work, pleasures, sorrows, and the spare time spent with friends. In the alien environment the diary becomes a real partner in dialogue. When Julia writes about what she has sold, she uses her diary as a small entrepreneur's utility. In this space and that of faith she receives confirmation for her work.

The recurrent and regular writing gives continuity and permanence to the writer's identity. Here she gains everyday experience. Time becomes a cohesive factor for the self that is shaped and reshaped. Perhaps it is the case, Edlund writes, that the need for constancy and continuity was particularly important for these two women whose necessity to earn a livelihood required them to be mobile – moving around in both geographical and social spaces. At any rate, writing had a confirmatory function for them both, according to Edlund. Both women confirm themselves in their diaries as acting, thinking, and feeling beings. They also confirm themselves as special by *not* writing about the toils of the household, about the things that all women do. Both gradually begin to write more critical comments. They claim a space for themselves. But whereas Linnéa increasingly shows herself as a subject in relation to the world around her, Julia comes into existence and takes up a place in relation to her religious faith. It is in the narration that develops in interaction between the diary's written space and the lived space that a picture of the self comes into being, rather than in the actual practice of writing. But the writing, Edlund says, has filled a confirmatory function: this was where their actions and competencies became visible, not just as working individuals but also as thinking and feeling persons.

Without Edlund's interdisciplinary approach it is unlikely whether she would have captured, for instance, the significance of spatiality in the development of the self-representations. Both Julia and Linnéa wrote laconically, besides which Julia had no punctuation at all and used capitals in an arbitrary way. It is not entirely easy to interpret the meaning of the texts. As a reader I am convinced that diary writing played a significant part in both Julia's and Linnéa's work with their self- images, but I think that the texts could have yielded more. Edlund has made demarcations in the diary material without adequately

explaining her reasons. Nor does she discuss the role her conversations with Linnéa may have had for the interpretation of her diary texts. There are unnecessary repetitions in the book, especially in the picture captions. We are not told how much time was actually available for writing in the diary; for example, the maps do not indicate the scale, so it is hard to gain an idea of how long it could take, say, for Julia to take the fish in to Luleå. On the photograph of her and her brother, the latter does not look nearly as strong as Julia. Here the caption could have given a more profound picture of her by telling what is evident from scattered passages, that they handled up to 400 kg of herring per trip, which they must have brought by boat to the town and sold with the aid of a wheelbarrow. There are photographs of mansions where Linnéa was in service, and we see clearly how little space there was for personal integrity; these could have been accompanied by texts in which she stresses the lack of personal space and her concern about keeping the diary away from people who had no right to see it – especially because this lack of personal space is significant for the analysis. There are several other examples of how the communicative value of the pictures could have been exploited to further confirm the significance of the diary texts for identity creation.

The fact that Julia was not in employment gives her a different kind of control and more freedom over her own time than Linnéa had. She needed her diary to be able to keep track of things like delivery days. In her diary there are sometimes two slightly different versions of an event, especially when she is conveying expressions of emotion. She subsequently crossed out one of these. Edlund interprets this as showing that Julia gives herself an opportunity to develop her writing. For me it sounds more reasonable to think that she simply wrote the second version later, in a different frame of mind, and saw her mistake when she reread what she had written. What is interesting is to try to understand why she crossed out one version, and whether there was any pattern for which version was crossed out. Edlund writes that she does not ask whether the written text was read repeatedly or whether the women perhaps showed other people what they had written. It seems as if Edlund envisages that Linnéa, when she wrote in her diary

that one cannot write anything one cannot stand by, also meant that what was written was a secret between her and the diary. Perhaps it is this that makes it difficult for Edlund to consider the idea that Linnéa could talk with her friend the maid about the social injustices on which she reflects in the diary. This is a reasonable supposition, since both worked in similar conditions in bourgeois homes. In the interviews Linnéa tells about her anxiety to keep the diary hidden, but it also emerges that she could write in it openly and in view of others. Perhaps Edlund in this connection could also have analysed what it meant for the writing that Julia was self-employed, with all the self-discipline that involves, while Linnéa was in employment and told to do specific jobs. There are also signs that she longed for a home of her own.

Another question that also stirs my imagination is why the two women so consistently avoid writing anything about their routine housework. Perhaps the information in the texts that I miss has been excluded because Edlund has studied "only one of the writing acts associated with the diary: the actual writing of the text" (p. 46), as if the actual writing can ever be separated from the interaction with other people and things. But the result of these limitations is that Edlund ascribes meanings to the women's diaries that they perhaps did not have. At the same time, I understand Edlund. It is necessary to cut out much of the surrounding things when dealing

with such a large body of material as this. What she has done is impressive, and since she presents her material in detail, it also gives free rein to the reader's imagination.

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Painting and Folklore

Erik Henning Edvardsen: Kvitebjørn kong Valemon 1. Gerhard August Schneider – arkitekten bak norske eventyrillustrasjoner. Norsk Folkeminnelags skrifter nr. 155. Oslo, Aschehoug 2005. 248 pp. Ill.

Erik Henning Edvardsen: Kvitebjørn kong Valemon 2. Gerhard August Schneider – den illustrerte eventyrutgaven som aldri utkom. Norsk Folkeminnelags skrifter nr. 157. Oslo, Aschehoug 2007. 262 pp. Ill.

In these two volumes the author gives a very detailed and informed description of the life and work of Schneider. He was known as an eminent artist in sketching and drawing. The author aims at underscoring and explicating Schneider's important contribution to Norwegian folklore as a capable collector of folktales as well.

Schneider was born in Flekkefjord in 1842 as the son of a local apothecary. His parents persuaded him to study medicine at the University of Kristiania. However, Schneider himself wanted to work as a painter instead. He published sketches and drawings from his trip to Østerdalen for *Illustrert Nyhedsblad*, and wrote the accompanying texts himself.

From 1863, when the satirical magazine *Vikingen* started, he became one of its most faithful contributors. After his father's death he made up his mind to study painting with Johan Fredrik Eckersberg. He had practically no means, but was lucky enough to obtain a free scholarship. Eckersberg understood that his pupil was endowed with an outstanding talent for drawing and sent him to the Academy of Arts in Copenhagen. One of his professors characterized him as an accomplished artist.

After his stay in Copenhagen he was approached by P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, who wanted him to illustrate folktales and legends. Schneider developed his talent by his intimate connection with Asbjørnsen himself and by his journeys in Setesdal, where he studied the local architecture and collected items of folklore, specifically folktales.

In his creative fantasy the folktale king became a well-to-do peasant. He did not live in a palace of continental dimensions, but on a great Norwegian farm. It must be emphasized that he was a precursor on this particular point. His successors, such as Werenskiold and Kittelsen, had learnt from Schneider how to use Norwegian rural architecture as a background for their folktale drawings. Edvardsen offers a very detailed description of Schneider's trip to Setesdal where he met certain informants. Schneider mentions specifically Karen Nielsdotter Huss (known as Kari Præstedotter), Søren Torstenson Lien, Thore Aslaksdotter and Gunnulv Torstensson Lien. Schneider wrote down their repertories. Edvardsen has added the relevant AT numbers to each folktale told. He gives a very useful analysis of the various aspects of their contribution to folklore.

In Setesdal Schneider heard the folktale about *Kvitebjørn kong Valemon* (The Polar Bear King Valemon), which he sent to Asbjørnsen to be included in *Norske Folke-Eventyr. Ny Samling* (1871) (Norwegian National Folktales. New Collection).

At the turn of the years 1870–1871 Schneider was admitted as student to the Academy of Arts in Antwerp. Here he had to rely on his own rather meagre financial means. He surprised his teachers by his fine drawings, bearing convinc-

ing witness to his mastery of his art. He then determined to rent a studio, and he set to work. Schneider was, however, overtaken by melancholy and depression and in 1873 committed suicide by stabbing himself repeatedly. His friends did not at all understand why this friendly man should do this.

These two volumes about Schneider's life and work undoubtedly represent a pioneering enterprise. Edvardsen has in fact saved Schneider from oblivion. It has been forgotten that in many respects he was a forerunner and innovator.

Edvardsen has delved deeply into letters from relatives, friends and other archive materials as well. These documents are source categories to which he has had recourse very often in order to examine and explain the ideas of Schneider himself, his friends and acquaintances.

Volume 1 contains letters, reports from Schneider and a chronological catalogue of publications, containing original graphic prints where box blocks have been used. Volume 2 contains folktales and popular legends from the writings of Andreas Faye, P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe together with reproductions of Schneider's illustrations intended for the edition that was never accomplished.

To each folktale reproduced *in extenso* Edvardsen has furnished his comments on their background and provenance, and he has also added the relevant AT numbers in accordance with the Aarne-Thompson catalogue and Ørnulf Hodne's catalogue as well.

There is also a section on how Theodor Kittelsen was introduced with his *Eventyrbog for Børn* (Book of Fairytales for Children). The appendices reproduce original letters from Eilif Petersen, P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, Hans Fredrik Gude, Erik Werenskiold and Edmund W. Gosse.

Finally, in volume 2 there are surveys of Schneider's folktale drawings in H & K, Nasjonalmuseet for Kunst, of his folktale and legend illustrations made by xylographs where the original materials have disappeared, and a list of illustrations for *Norske Folke- og Huldre-Eventyr i Udvalg*, and folktale books illustrated on the flyleaves.

These two volumes represent not only a well-documented biography of a great and talented artist, they also elucidate significant and partly hitherto unknown aspects of the intellectual and artistic life of a whole era in Norway.

Ronald Grambo
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A Finnish Travelogue from 1811

Eric Gustaf Ehrström: Minnen af en Resa från Åbo till Tavastland. Junii och Julii Månader År 1811. Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, Helsingfors 2007. 180 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-506-1922-5.

Travel accounts constituted a popular genre both today and in the early nineteenth century as they do today, and many of the fascinating manuscripts stored in our archives should be given the opportunity of such an appealing publication as Eric Gustaf Ehrström's *Minnen af en Resa från Åbo till Tavastland: Junii och Julii Månader År 1811,* published by the Swedish Literature Society in Finland. (The original is preserved in the Ehrström family archive in the Helsinki City Archives.) Eric Gustaf Ehrström (1791–1835) later became vicar of the Swedish parish of Saint Catherine in Saint Petersburg. His father, Anders Ehrström, also a clergyman, had in his youth studied under Linnaeus in Uppsala. Eric Gustaf, the first of eight children, was enrolled at the age of 15 as a student at the University of Åbo (Turku), studied for the clergy, but was also interested in many other subjects, such as natural history, languages, and literature. Johanna Wass-

holm, who has added a brief biography of Ehrström at the end of the volume, stresses the importance of the famous poet Frans Michael Franzén as an inspiring teacher and professor, and demonstrates the close personal relationships in Swedish-speaking Finland at the time.

Ehrström became a tutor in the Krogius family to support himself during his student days and in the summer of 1811 he accompanied them on a six-week trip to Hauho in Tavastland. This is the journey he describes in his diary. Krogius was a county judge and was married to Franzén's sister Anna Maria. In Tavastland the family and their six children visited the Dean of Hauho, Ivar Wallenius, married to Krogius' sister. Wallenius was an important person in the region. He had previously been a minister in the Finnish congregation in Stockholm, and as a representative of the clergy he had been part of the Finnish deputation in St Petersburg in 1808.

The diverse links between Sweden, Finland, and Russia are typical of the time and they are also demonstrated in Ehrström's life. His own first language was Swedish, and with his footing among the clergy in both Åbo and Tavastland he had access to their vibrant social life, with frequent parties, excursions, and dances. This network, which was of great importance to his everyday life as well as his career opportunities, he combined with a keen interest in both the Finnish-speaking population and the Russian speakers in Finland. For a few months in 1808 he had been involved on the Swedish side in the war between Sweden and Russia, and in 1812, when Finland had become a grand duchy of the Russian Empire, he went to Moscow on a grant to study Russian at the university. In 1815 Ehrström became Finland's first reader in Russian history and literature, but his efforts to promote interest in the Russian language in Finland ran into powerful opposition. He was much admired, and later renowned, for an article in the periodical *Mnemosyne* in 1821 where he advanced his ideas about Finnish as a national language.

The travel account itself is charming and endearing, but not very remarkable to anyone already familiar with the genre. Rainer Knapas, who has written the foreword, comments on the conventional quality of the text and points out the typical romantic interest in antiquities, natural scenery, the language, and the culture of the people. I nevertheless derived great pleasure from reading it. The travelogue allows a happy visit to the sentiments of the nineteenth century. Ehrström takes his readers on long detours, since he wants to approach his destination from its most aesthetically appealing side. We climb with him through rugged country to reach the optimal lookout points. He notes the dress of the peasantry, is surprised by boats without keels, and comments on church architecture. He takes the waters of the Kangasala spa, visits a peasant wedding and plays the violin as his pupils dance around the maypole. Although he complains about all the occasional verses he has to write for the celebration of various festivities, there is no mistaking his interest in everything new and exceptional. He often comments in detail on the food; crayfish are new to him, and he shares the entire nineteenth-century delight in wild strawberries with cream. Sometimes his account can be rather too sentimental, but he also manages to capture contemporary reactions in a turn of phrase.

Every reader will probably find a favourite passage – perhaps about Ehrström's obvious problems in sorting out his ideas about the correct relationship between the sexes, or his intention in the future to acquire a house with a balcony. Some may no doubt find material for a note in their research, but the most wonderful feature in Ehrström's travelogue is his summertime happiness and his deep love of nature.

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An Introduction to Folkloristics

Anne Eriksen & Torunn Selberg: Tradisjon og fortelling. En innføring i folkloristikk. Oslo, Pax forlag 2006. 294 pp.

The authors of this book begin by defining the topic as the study of "non-material folk culture", in which they include all narration, as well as beliefs and customs. They both define themselves as folklorists, although one is a professor of cultural history and the other of culture studies. The express aim of the book is also to lead the reader into the subject of folkloristics. It is thus a textbook that begins with basic conceptual discussions of folk culture and its research history. It considers both how the historiography has changed, how folk culture has been used for various purposes, and how theorization interacts with periodization. The foundation chosen for the thematization and periodization in this chapter is Peter Burke's view of the concept of folk culture.

The authors regard folk culture as a part of a larger culture that changes in different social contexts, an approach that is comprehensible and also makes it possible to see how it changes over time. In an attempt to define folk culture as a free language, they use Alan Dundes's definition of folk as a group of people, any group, sharing at least one common factor. They argue that folk culture can thereby be viewed as a form of communication used in specific situations. It becomes a kind of cultural code or idiom that binds people together and also excludes those who do not know the code. This language, according to Eriksen and Selberg, should be understood as a free language that enables both ambivalence and a way to criticize what can not be publicly criticized, for example, by making jokes about the boss or the teacher. Folkloristic free language can also be described as an emotional language.

The relationship between folklore and cultural identity is discussed in the following three chapters. Here we find classical ethnological concepts such as the understanding of local and national identity as experience and community based on generation, gender, and class. One chapter, concerning narratives about the Others, deals with the relations between different groups based on the concept of ethnicity, which is understood in parallel to minority. In this chapter they give an opening for interesting discussions about nation and ethnicity in relation to folk and culture, but their presentation is limited to old sources, while the contemporary discussion that is found in several ethnological dissertations in Scandinavia today, based on post-colonial theories, for example, about the cultural significance of citizenship, is conspicuous by its absence.

The most interesting part of the book is the one dealing with international theories of narrativity and the relationship between oral and written culture, or in simple terms: what it means to tell stories. Here it is above all Walter Ong's classic from the early 1980s that is the starting point for the discussion. He views oral and written culture as completely different ways of organizing knowledge. In this chapter the authors also touch on what they call a new orality expressed in popular culture. Orality also goes together with special forms of performance, and there is a discussion of the significance of the interview as a category of material.

Finally, the authors reflect on the concept of tradition, showing in a series of examples how the concept has been treated in folkloristics, from the search for stable patterns to the focus on diversity and the many different aspects in the handing down of narrative, which can also be used for the mobilization of traditions.

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In the Name of Humanity

Agnes Ers: I mänsklighetens namn. En etnologisk studie av ett svenskt biståndsprojekt i Rumänien. Hedemora, Gidlunds förlag 2006. 224 pp. English summary. Diss.

There are some books you wish would never end; for example, novels or whodunits. You save the last 10–15 pages to see what the ending is like. It is rare to experience this with non-fiction. But that is the case here. Will the author manage to bring all the loose threads together into a greater whole? In this case the answer is undoubtedly “yes”. The conclusion is just as perfect as the way there. In other words, this is exciting reading – and simultaneously good ethnological handicraft.

In addition, it is something as rare as an ethnological dissertation that heads into deep water and considers the political side of ethnology. In a low-key way, admittedly, but no less precisely. The author’s aim is to show how political, and hence changeable, choices are included in the organization of so-called universal values. In that way the dissertation is undogmatic and thought-provoking. Agnes Ers elegantly demonstrates that values we believed to be expressions of immutability are constantly a result of compromises and negotiations. The universal freedoms and rights are the expression of particularistic concessions which can never avoid local colouring and pragmatic considerations. If these are ignored, the values and concepts become empty – pure abstractions in the Hegelian sense. The ostensibly objective, neutral, and universal values such as human rights, democracy and freedom are empty words in themselves, as the author points out. They beg for application in relation to reality. Proceeding especially from Ernesto Laclau, she declares that the universal is an empty form which can never be defined because it is always coloured by specific historical and geographical circumstances.

Although this is a good observation, it does not mean that the universal can be dismissed. If this norm did not exist, we would end up in all manner of political arbitrariness such as cultural relativism, which would not be able to prevent the abuse of power. If particularism was the only valid principle for invoking the rights of different groups, then the rights of asocial groups would also be recognized, she says. One could add that lots of abuses are committed today, especially against women and children, and justified on cultural and/or religious grounds, thus highlighting the problem of where the dividing line runs between the universal and the particularist. Is a global religion sufficiently large to be able to function as a tacitly accepted “universalism”, serving as a yardstick? Is Christianity? Is Islam? The author does not engage in that discussion. She may be excused for that. Less will do. She contents herself with stating that the universal is contingent, and that alone is a great step forwards.

Through the author’s lenses, the problem of universalism versus particularism is connected to the idea that it is tricky to operate with a subject that incarnates these values; i.e. a person with a fixed, unchanging, and invariable core, an unshakable self. Agnes Ers is rather doubtful about this perception of the subject, instead pointing out the subject’s situated and ephemeral variability, which is dependent on the possibilities for action that exist.

As a consequence of this she raises the question: what subject positions are possible, now that the subject is not something inherent but something assigned, created by a multitude of both potential and realized practices, some of which are legitimate and others illegitimate – while a third type is hegemonically determined and does not come into conflict with other subject positions.

This in turn raises the question: what

subjectivities are recognized as legal or illegal? To answer this question Ers has to bring in a power perspective, and all through the dissertation she – wisely – derives more nourishment from Gramsci's concept of hegemony than from Foucault's concept of power. When it comes to the concrete analyses of what happens between people, the Gramscian concept of hegemony – at once empirically sensitive and hierarchically aware – is just as fruitful as the Foucauldian concept of power for the realization that power is present everywhere, and that power is processes.

And now it is high time to inform you what the dissertation has as its object of study: Swedish relief work in Romania, primarily in relation to homeless children and helpless old people – in other words, the desire to give help and do good. The starting point is field studies under the auspices of a humanitarian organization here camouflaged under the name Hjälpa. The field study is classical ethnology. It is described in the best possible way, and we are left in no doubt that we have here an ethnologist who is academically schooled and simultaneously innovative, who can enter and leave her metier, that is, be both empathetic and distanced. With a term borrowed from Lars Kaijser, her approach is "pragmatic-systematic". She is both a translator and an interpreter in Romania; she goes along on home visits and drinks coffee here, there and everywhere, while simultaneously – with mature ethical awareness – recording her participant observations. It is clear that she has learned something from Barbro Klein.

However – and here she becomes seriously interesting in the context of cultural analysis – she has also used the media portrayal of the homeless Romanian children as material; specifically, various broadcasts on Swedish television about children's homes in Romania. Here she adds a new dimension, namely, the relationship between media and reality, if I may set up these two entities with unnecessary analytical sharpness. For it is one of Agnes Ers's points that the two things cannot be kept separate. She does not want to fall into the trap of seeing a causal connection between the image of the poor Romanian children on the one hand and the Romanian reality on the other. Both engage in discourse and result in a hybrid – and it is the analysis of this hybrid that is the real strength of the dissertation, allowing it to point to something beyond its own case study in both methodological and theoretical terms. The reality of the children's homes is a result both of the fulfilment of media expectations of behaviour and of the brutal post-communist reality. The author does not resolve the relationship between these two entities on a theoretical level, but through her analytical practice she shows how this encounter takes place. That is an achievement.

With her insistence on taking the Romanian reality seriously – for example, in showing that for the Romanians themselves it is a matter of attaining more favourable living conditions via the humanitarian work, and in her account of traditional power thinking among Romanian authorities – the author lacks illusions. But the same also applies when she describes how a Swedish humanitarian aid worker, anonymized as "Gunilla", is forced to use the particularist Romanian power instruments to further the goal of "universal" human rights: "I don't want to adopt those methods, but maybe I have to anyway!"

All in all it is clear that the author has made a wise choice when she insists on analysing not just those who receive help but also the helpers. She focuses not only on the Romanian reality, but also on the Swedish position. She thus sees her dissertation as a continuation of works like Birgitta Svensson's dissertation about travellers in Sweden, Per-Markku Ristilammi's studies of the immigrant neighbourhood of Rosengård

in Malmö, and Karin Salomonsson's book about poverty. A central position is occupied here by the creation of "the Other" on the home ground.

When viewed in a larger historical context, perhaps the most fruitful result of Agnes Ers's dissertation is that she has also punctured the whole idea of Eastern Europe as "the Other". To begin with, she has a sound knowledge of the entire debate about the position of the former Eastern bloc countries in Europe after the collapse of communism – and here especially the whole issue of what is to be defined as Eastern Europe in general and the Balkans in particular. Secondly, she explicitly rejects the idea of Eastern Europe as an unqualified victim. Here too she is without illusions. When the Romanians need the role of victim, they use it, while at other times they proudly reject it. If only Edward Said had had the same flair for nuances!

With eloquent examples she shows, for example, that it would have been wise for some Romanian women to admit that they needed help from the Swedish aid workers, but also that either they did not want to fall into the role of victim or they could not figure out the requirements that were set up for "real" victims: that – according to the yardstick of the humanitarian staff – they had to display a high moral level in the shape of a desire to fend for themselves, but also that they had strong resources, and that they were willing to cope on market terms. To be a worthy client one must accept the gift in exchange for a specific mode of behaviour. This is highly reminiscent of the Nordic welfare policy of the 1930s.

Agnes Ers writes that her overall aim has been to reveal the political in the universal. She points out that ethnology has sometimes been accused of having a "culturalist" attitude to its object of study and of excluding generalizations with its micro-level methods. Even if one does not share this critical view, one can observe that in this dissertation there are no grounds for any such critique. People's lives are not just an imprint of the surrounding society, but also help to shape this surrounding society, as she brilliantly shows. Or to put it another way: ethnological research, when it is at its best, with meticulous studies of cultural patterns that reflect deep-lying societal values, helps to break up "the strict divisions between economics, politics, and culture", as she says in the dissertation. I have rarely been in greater agreement. This is a dissertation that shows in full how this takes place in practice. It will stand strong in future research, not just in ethnology, but also in the study of political globalization processes. It is most warmly recommended.

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Raising Memorials to the Past

Jonas Frykman and Billy Ehn (eds): Minnesmärken. Att tolka det förflutna och besvärja framtiden. Stockholm, Carlssons Bokförlag 2007. 384 pp. Ill.

A current field of research deals with the way in which contemporary people seek to manifest the past by raising memorials having a physical character which makes them clearly visible in public surroundings. An extensive and comprehensive symposium covering several approaches in this field of study was held at the Institute of Ethnology at the University of Lund in 2005. The papers presented at this Scandinavian assembly have been published in a wide-ranging anthology edited by the Swedish ethnologists Jonas Frykman and Billy Ehn who have also written the main introductory chapter. The book's main emphasis lies on memorials raised in Scandinavia during the 1900s but also includes some appraisals of European conditions. In the following I will

present some of the views highlighted in the majority of the book's chapters.

The historian of ideas Magnus Rodell reflects on a machine-gun bunker on Gotland dating to World War II and by discussing an ancient fourteenth-century bridge over a river running through Mostar in Bosnia, places this in a European context. The bridge was destroyed in 1993 during the Balkan War but was later re-built and was re-opened in 2004. A memorial to a bygone age was thus restored with the help of international contributions. It then became a symbol for reconciliation between the country's different cultural, ethnic and religious groups. This shows that objects can have an inherent meaning that is relevant in addition to their status as material culture.

Jonas Frykman has made a study of the many monuments commemorating Croatian partisans' resistance battles against the Nazis during World War II. Approximately half of these monuments were destroyed during the hostilities of the 1990s. After the partition of Yugoslavia in the early 1990s, these monuments are no longer ascribed any national sentiment about which pride might be felt. Nor does the public attach any reminiscence to those that still remain. The monuments are ignored and passed by in silence despite the fact that they still exist physically in the landscape. This indicates that when external societal conditions are altered, the significance which people ascribe to monuments of a bygone age is also altered.

The Norwegian ethnologist Kirsti Mathiesen Hjemdahl and the Croatian ethnologist Nevena Skrbic' Alempijevic' have conducted a joint study of memorials to Tito in his birthplace Kumrovec in Croatia. They have documented how these have altered and deteriorated since his day and subsequent to Croatia's declaring its national independence after the terrible hostilities between 1991 and 1995. Such devastation is especially noticeable in the political school founded by Tito and intended as an educational institution for the whole of Yugoslavia. The unparalleled devastation, such as smashed windows and broken staircases, to which the formerly magnificent building has become subject in recent years was something that I was able to observe myself during an excursion there in 2006. The building now appears almost as a ruin which has become a monument to a person and an era that the general public would prefer to forget. Other signs of this reaction are the numerous attacks against the statue raised in Tito's honour in his place of birth.

Another category of monument relates to war memorials raised in honour of slain soldiers. The Finnish ethnologist Ulla-Maija Peltonen has made a study of narratives about burial grounds that were established following the Civil War of 1918 between the conservative "White" and the socialist "Red" factions. Because the "Whites" won the conflict, their memorials came to be dominant, while "Red" burial grounds were concealed in silence. In 1929, burial grounds dedicated to the "White" victors were known to exist in more than 300 localities, while the number dedicated to the "Reds" was no higher than eleven. In 2000, a survey was conducted of all the burial grounds from 1918 that could be traced in the landscape or in archival material. During the years 1940 to 1958, a significant number of new memorials to the slain "Red" soldiers appeared in 117 different places. This change, with its implied awareness of the "Red" burial grounds, began to manifest itself when it became obvious that the Finnish Winter War against the USSR was dependent upon a united folk.

The Danish museum director Inge Adriansen has studied the hundreds of memorials in North Slesvig, a region of Southern Jutland, raised to commemorate soldiers who fell during World War I. From 1864 and until 1920, the re-

gion belonged to Germany but again became part of Denmark after that latter year. Many of the slain soldiers were young men who were strongly inclined towards Danish interests but who had nonetheless been forced to bear arms for Germany. In addition to the local monuments dated to the years 1920–1925, a national memorial built of stone was raised in 1934 and placed near the city of Århus farther north in Jutland. The names of 4 140 fallen soldiers were inscribed on this memorial.

The Norwegian historian of culture Kyrre Kverndokk has studied the memorial observances conducted in 2005 to commemorate the peaceful dissolution in 1905 of the personal union between Sweden and Norway. An impressive celebration was held in the main square of Karlstad, Sweden, on 23 September 2005, the hundredth anniversary of the date on which the agreement about the dissolution of the Union had been signed here. A new monument to this national issue was dedicated on this hundredth anniversary day, precisely as had been done on this spot exactly fifty years earlier.

The Swedish ethnologist Anna Sofia Lundgren has analysed gender and sexuality as these are reflected on monuments. Most monuments referring to historical persons represent men and thus masculinity. The female body can personify mythological female characters but only seldom is it seen in relation to specific women.

Billy Ehn concludes the book by discussing recent memorials, among them those that are placed on roadsides at the sites of fatal accidents. Material objects such as flowers, candles and wooden crosses are placed at these sites along with written and extremely emotional messages to the deceased from the next of kin. Such memorials, which have a spontaneous and unofficial character, are put in place very quickly after the accidents have occurred but many of them are very short-lived. I have recently documented and analysed such memorials in both Norway and Sweden, while Christine Aka from Münster, Germany, has conducted a similar study in that country. In this way, preconditions exist for comparative studies between the various countries of Europe concerning these very rapid developments in recent years.

The different chapters of the anthology under review here constitute an interesting analysis of memorials in both past times and in our own day based on differing angles of approach. Nothing is constant, changes are constantly taking place. The book can be recommended to any and all with an interest for the problems inherent to cultural heritage in a comparative European perspective.

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Kurt Atterberg and Germany

Petra Garberding: Musik och politik i skuggan av nazismen. Kurt Atterberg och de svensk-tyska musikrelationerna. Lund, Sekel Bokförlag 2007. 293 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-91-85767-08-3.

On the cover, Kurt Atterberg is looking to the right, his high forehead and his handsome profile bathed in a warm light that almost makes him screw up his eyes. He is young and proud. Dancing on his left shoulder is a little red devil that the artist Jenny Lagerberg has added. But the posing Atterberg does not seem to be aware of the presence of the diabolical figure.

This is the cover picture on a dissertation by the ethnologist Petra Garberding about Kurt Atterberg and German-Swedish musical relationships before, during, and just after the Second World War. With his many roles – composer, critic, chairman of the musical copyright organization STIM, academy secretary,

and much besides – Kurt Atterberg was an extraordinarily influential person in Swedish musical life. Garberding, who has taken her doctorate at Södertörn University College, has conducted this study parallel to the Lund University project "Fear, Fascination and Friendship – The Relation of Swedish Cultural Life and the Scientific Community to Nazism and Fascism 1930–1950". She is particularly suited for this work in that she herself came to Sweden from Germany as a 28-year-old.

Garberding studies texts, published and unpublished. With admirable energy she has tracked down relevant sources in Sweden, Germany, Austria, and Iceland. The rich archives of Kurt Atterberg in the Music Museum in Stockholm are at the centre, of course, especially his correspondence and the "memoirs" that he began to write in 1947. For her scrutiny of the texts she uses a "critical discourse analysis" elaborated by the Austrian linguist Ruth Wodak. The method consists of three stages: studying the content of the text, its argumentative strategies, and the linguistic forms in which it is realized.

She starts by announcing that "the aim of the dissertation is to study how classical music and the actors involved in it figure in the construction of ethnic and national identity in Swedish-German musical exchange, with the focus on the Nazi period in Germany 1933–1945" (p. 17). For this she asks some questions: How is ethnic and national identity expressed in the texts that she intends to analyse? What national narratives were created on the basis of these ideas? What did they mean for Swedish-German relations in the shadow of Nazism? The author views the texts as a kind of "keyhole" giving access to the cultural climate and cultural tensions of the time. She then specifies in concrete terms: "I view texts by and about Kurt Atterberg and the music as a kind of prism, a micromodel of the Swedish, German, and European cultural climate, since Atterberg was a central figure in Swedish musical life, as regards conflicts about music and politics in connection with Nazism" (p. 19).

Although the study has the multifaceted Atterberg at the centre, it is clearly not a biographical study. Petra Garberding has been so careful to stress this that she has avoided giving a thorough presentation of the leading character, which is a shame for readers without much prior knowledge.

Chapter 2, entitled "Music in Dilemma? Musical Life in Change", presents the external circumstances surrounding the Swedish-German musical relations examined by the study. It describes the cultural and musical policy pursued by the National Socialists in Germany and the musical institutions they built up. One such was the Reichsmusikkammer, which was a part of the umbrella organization, the Reichskulturkammer. An authority called STAGMA, short for Staatlich genehmigte Gesellschaft zur Verwertung musikalischer Urheberrechte, was founded in 1933 to control the performance of music and to distribute royalties to composers. Nordische Gesellschaft was an important organization for cultural exchange between Germany and the Nordic countries.

"People's Music as the Saviour of Music" is the title of Chapter 3, the first chapter of the analysis proper. (Compared to many other doctoral dissertations, it is pleasing to see the generous amount of space devoted to the analyses here.) The author has selected two cases that are intended to elucidate connections between music and politics in Swedish-German musical relations in the shadow of National Socialism. She begins with the First German Composer's Congress which took place in Berlin in 1934. In order to examine different interpretations of the event, Petra Garberding studies how Kurt Atterberg and some German writers reported from the meeting.

The second case concerns the Ständiger Rat für die internationale Zusammenarbeit der Komponisten, a council that existed between 1934 and 1944 as part of the Reichsmusikkammer. At first the council was headed by the composer Richard Strauss. Throughout the council's existence Kurt Atterberg was an active participant in his capacity as Swedish representative.

In chapter 3, "Nordic Music as a Political Instrument or Free Art?", the author examines the reception of Kurt Atterberg's person and works in Nazi Germany. The major part of this chapter is devoted to Atterberg's musical drama *Flammendes Land* and its fate in both Germany and Sweden. (The opera is entitled *Fanal* in Swedish.) Atterberg started working on it in 1928 when he came into contact with the libretto, written by two authors in Vienna, Ignaz Michael Welleminsky and Oscar Ritter. The work was premiered in Stockholm in January 1934. Just one month later it was staged at the Landestheater in Brunswick and was later performed in Munich, Dortmund, Kiel, Oslo, Riga, and Antwerp – thus making it one of Atterberg's most frequently performed works.

Chapter 5, entitled "A Place in the Sun for Swedish Music? Shaping a National Musical Life", deals with how the idea of a national musical life was discussed. Garberding investigates three cases, first some correspondence between Atterberg and Moses Pergament, who like Atterberg was both a composer and a music critic. The second case concerns how Atterberg described the Nazis' Jewish policy to his Swedish newspaper readers after he had heard Goebbels talking about it in Berlin in 1935. Finally, she analyses the Dobrowen affair and especially Atterberg's actions in connection with that event. The affair centred around the Russo-Norwegian conductor Isaay Dobrowen and his application to come to Sweden to work as a conductor.

"What Memory Does a Nation Need?" is the title of chapter 6. Here the author studies the post-war treatment of Atterberg and his own arguments after the event for his stance on Nazi Germany. After the war there was of course a critical reappraisal of Kurt Atterberg's actions in the 1930s and during the war years.

On Atterberg's own initiative, the board of the Royal Academy of Music decided to inquire into the accusations against him. This was done by a small commission that presented its findings in May 1947 to the Academy board. On the basis of the commission's verdict, the board exonerated him of the accusations. Incidentally, the process has recently been considered by Johan Bengtsson and Henrik Karlsson in *Ovan stridsvimlet: Kungl. Musikaliska akademien och Tyskland 1920–1945* (2006).

Petra Garberding asserts that the inquiry is rather unique by Swedish standards and calls it an example of Denazification. But the difference between this and comparable trials in Germany is that the inquiry into Atterberg was not conducted by the judiciary. One problem with the work of the commission, according to Garberding, was that there was never any definition of the criteria for Nazi actions or Nazi language. It was thus never possible to ascertain whether Atterberg had acted, written, or spoken in Nazi terms, and thus it could not be determined that he had Nazi sympathies. The vagueness in the assessment, together with Atterberg's own argument about his political ignorance, led to his acquittal. But in Swedish music and cultural life he was already condemned as a loser, particularly because a whole new societal policy and a whole new aesthetic in art music had come to power.

In the conclusion to the study, the author points out that basically the same arguments about cultural nationalism were heard during the period in Sweden and Germany. The widespread

view that national musical and cultural life should be built on an authentic national identity led Atterberg and several others to feel a kinship with like-minded colleagues in Germany. But the difference was that cultural nationalism in Germany was part of a political discourse in which it was legitimated in terms of racial biology. Atterberg's assiduous work for music in the spirit of cultural nationalism thus acquired a political dimension, whether he was aware of that link or not.

Petra Garberding deserves praise for daring to tackle a research field that has hitherto been regarded as belonging to musicology. (Unfortunately there are a number of unnecessary errors in her use of musical terms which could easily have been eliminated if an expert had proofread the manuscript.) New perspectives on one and the same problem – there are many of these in Garberding's dissertation – are always welcome. A musicologist, however, will react to the description throughout of the composer Atterberg as a national romantic, a designation that is usually given to the preceding generation of composers. Furthermore, Atterberg himself rejected that label, preferring to call himself as "national classicist".

Petra Garberding has conducted her study with great dedication and with good personal abilities. The result is a book that is rich in details and nuances, making it an important contribution to our knowledge of music in Sweden just before and during the Second World War. It will therefore be read with great interest by scholars in various disciplines who are concerned with examining our country's relations to the Nazi regime. The major part of the study should also be published in German so that it can be incorporated in the intensive research on musical life in the Nazi period that is being conducted in Germany today.

Let us hope that Garberding will continue as soon as possible her research on this topic and publish her works in both Swedish and German. There is still a great deal to be done.

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Masks and Mumming Customs

Terry Gunnell (ed.): Masks and Mumming in the Nordic Area. (*Acta Academiae Regiae Gustavi Adolphi XCVIII.) Uppsala, Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademien för svensk folkkultur, 2007. 840 pp. Ill.*

Masks and Mumming in the Nordic Area is effectively two books in one: a systematic survey of customary masking practices in Scandinavia resulting from a major international research project, and the proceedings of a conference marking the latter's culmination. This is a both landmark and benchmark publication: a significant contribution to the study of traditional performance culture in Scandinavia, which simultaneously sets a standard for future explorations. The institutions supporting the project and the publication of its results are to be complimented and congratulated: the study of folk traditions is otherwise not as high on the agenda of those funding and prioritising academic research as it should be at a time when the significance of the "intangible cultural heritage", which is what this book is about, has recently been acknowledged in the adoption of a UNESCO convention, and given the manifest importance of understanding cultural tradition in the increasingly multi-traditional societies of modern Europe.

Thus we are provided here with the first pan-Scandinavian survey of mummings and other customary activities deploying masks and disguising, with a series of chapters, each contributed by an authority on the national tradition concerned, respectively covering both the

"mainland" Nordic countries of Norway (Christine Eike), Sweden (Eva Knuts), Denmark (Carsten Bregenhøj and Hanne Pico Larsen) and Finland/Karelia (Urpo Vento), together with adjacent nations, territories or regions: Estonia (Ülo Tedre), Greenland (Adriënne Heijnen), and the North Atlantic islands (Terry Gunnell). The conference papers cover the same geographical area, with complementary glances at analogous traditions in Newfoundland and Scotland. In retrospect it may seem natural and inevitable that the material should all be published in English, but the decision was nonetheless bold, and the result another landmark: suddenly a mass of significant research (both the project itself and the antecedent research to which it appeals) is made available to an international scholarly community, its impact enhanced by the uniformly high competence of the English prose, while the viability of the contributions within local research traditions is assured by the citation of all documentation in the original language (accompanied by full English translations).

The first part of *Masks and Mummings in the Nordic Area* offers authoritative surveys of national traditions, packaged by useful introductions to the history, geography and culture of the region concerned, reviews of the documentary sources deployed, ranging from historical sources, through the folklore archives with which the contributors are extremely familiar, to the results of fieldwork and systematic enquiries based on questionnaires, much of it undertaken by the contributors themselves. There are also brief introductions to the history of and recent trends in the relevant national research traditions. With regard to the geographical coverage there are both positive and puzzling aspects. Most positive is the entirely convincing conglomeration of Orkney, Shetland, the Faroe Islands and Iceland into a composite mumming-realm in the chapter on the North Atlantic island communities. Most puzzling is the inclusion of a chapter on Greenland. While it has been a Danish colony for several centuries the territory has no settled Danish community, and the chapter quite properly focuses on the traditional customs of the indigenous Inuit population. Whatever their intrinsic interest and the merits of their treatment, however, they would be more at home in a study of masking in circumpolar cultures, and their inclusion is in striking contrast to the treatment of the traditions of the Sami, who in geographical terms are better qualified for inclusion, their settlements and territories stretching across mainland Norway, Sweden, and Finland. Demographically the two populations are roughly commensurate (60,000–80,000), but the Sami figure in the national surveys, if at all, in only a subordinate role, the few paragraphs they are accorded in their own right countered by their indirect and unflattering appearance, as "Lapps", in the designations of grotesque masks in a mumming custom of the majority culture.

The inclusion of Estonia is justified by its being the most northerly of the three Baltic states, together with its closer and persistent historical connections with Scandinavia. Other demarcations too have historical perspectives. Karelia, annexed by Russia only in the twentieth century, is reasonably encompassed alongside Finland, while Skåne, Danish until 1658, and subjected to a thorough enculturation in the interim, is naturally covered in the chapter on Sweden. Other decisions probably reflect various permutations of the numerical significance of the populations concerned, the availability of evidence, and the focus of regional research traditions. Thus the Swedish-speaking population of Finland is accorded vastly more attention than the German-speaking population of southern Denmark, and a glance at medieval records for Estonia invokes customary masking by the eth-

nic German population, who remained in the country for many centuries but thereafter feature more as collectors of ethnic Estonian customs than as performers of their own.

And as these last instances indicate, decisions clearly also had to be made, or practicalities faced, in the chronological demarcation of the coverage. At the one extreme, the study insists on its modernity, and encompasses "new" traditions such as hen and stag parties and school matriculation customs, or introduced traditions such as Santa Claus and Halloween tricks or treats. At the other extreme, there is some variation in the attention accorded to the pre-modern period. Most of the contributors are professional folklorists, and the focus of attention is accordingly the material assembled under folkloristic auspices from the mid-nineteenth-century onwards. Terry Gunnell, who has also made a major contribution to studying the medieval, and indeed the prehistoric, antecedents of mumming customs in Scandinavia, devotes more attention in his contribution to historical perspectives. Overall there seems to be something of a gap between the medieval period and the nineteenth century, with a (from an English perspective) surprising paucity of documentation through the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries in the form, say, of household and parish accounts, church court and assize records, royal decrees and parliamentary legislation, not to mention literary references and transformations.

The chronological centre of gravity of the survey is manifestly the traditional customs of immediately pre-industrial culture, as mostly represented by rural communities. This is signalled by naming the centrepiece of each survey chapter "An Overview ... Following the Old Farming Calendar", although in the upshot few if any of the customs actually covered are directly linked to agricultural activities, and there do not seem to have been any masking customs in connection with say sheep-shearing, haymaking, barking or the cereal harvest. It is rather the "Old Church Calendar" which determines the incidence of customs and supplies many of their designations, but of course the customary activities covered most often involve participants who have an everyday relationship under agrarian auspices – a relationship which the customs unquestionably both reflect and sustain.

However designated, such is the dominance of these pre-modern traditions that within each survey discussion of the modern, largely introduced, customs tends to the status of an appendix or an interruption. Their inclusion has manifestly enhanced the modern relevance of the field, if at the price of diverting effort and space from the core traditions, whose treatment is consequently less comprehensive than it might have been. The project is quite justified in seeing itself in the distinguished line of research established by Halpert and Story's watershed study of Christmas "mummering" in Newfoundland. For that tradition of disguised visits, as for many of those covered here, a socio-cultural, "thick" approach is eminently suitable, given the interactive nature of the encounter between visitors and hosts, but there are several customs covered in this survey which have a more verbal or dramatic dimension, in that the performers put on some kind of entertainment, say a song, a dance, or even a play. And while the Halpert-Story study found room for a supplementary section on the mummers' *plays* of Newfoundland, including full transcripts of texts, this survey, despite the Introduction's evocation of links with theatre history, gives only limited attention to folk *drama*: The emphasis is on social event rather than cultural achievement.

Which brings us to the customs themselves, and here too decisions evidently had to be made, both in principle and in the context of immediate practicalities.

And as under the headings of geography and chronology, the surveys convey the impression of a well-defined core field with a somewhat problematic periphery. The problem is reflected precisely in the title of the publication, since while a mask is an artefact, which can be used in a variety of customary performances (and indeed non-customary activities), a mumming is a customary activity – in folkloristic discourse usually implying a perambulation interspersed with house-visits – in which the wearing of a mask is often – but not necessarily – a feature. The core of the surveys accordingly comprises mummings (seasonal house-visit customs) in which masks of some kind are deployed; the problematic periphery comprises at one extreme mummings (in this same sense) in which masks are *not* deployed (they will instead involve "dressing up" of some other kind, or the display of a costumed effigy), and at the other extreme the wearing of masks under customary auspices other than the house-visit mumming. The inclusion of all three options has inevitably blurred the focus of the project somewhat, as perhaps symbolised in the slight but substantive variation in the heading of the "overview" section of the survey chapters between "masks and mumming customs", and "mask and mumming customs". It has also complicated the task of reviewing the field in Terry Gunnell's Introduction, where the discussion of masking and mumming typology shifts a little awkwardly from Halpert's "four central types of mumming" (in which "mumming" means customary activity involving masks), via my "encounter customs" (for and between which the wearing of masks is not a definitive criterion), to Carsten Bregenhøj's anatomy of a specific mumming (house-visit) tradition in which masks are a definitive feature.

Of the two peripheral areas the mask-less mummings are in practice hard to distinguish from the core mummings-with-masks, while of course the masking traditions independent of mummings largely overlap with the peripheral category from a chronological perspective, the modern/introduced activities. And under the present heading too, their inclusion curtails the treatment of the core mummings, which might usefully have encompassed for example a more sustained exploration of their wider customary auspices. As indicated several times, the house-visit was rarely free-standing activity, but was usually part of a larger customary observance involving other activities: the performers could parade through the community between visits; the visit could be arranged to coincide with a traditional feast at the households visited; the visits might be designed to gather cash or provisions for the visitors' own, "finishing up" feast.

The second part of the publication, as what amounts to a conference proceedings, is less geared to a set agenda, but makes for an entirely appropriate supplement to the surveys. It accordingly reflects the same strengths and prompts the same questions. This time core and periphery and more clearly signalled, with two opening sections which cover the same ground as the surveys, only now each contribution can afford narrower focus with correspondingly more comprehensive detail. The first section "Themes in Masks and Mummings" has contributions pursuing the verbal aspect of disguise (Hanne Pico Larsen on mumming on the Danish island of Ærø), humour (Christine Eike on Norway), eroticism (Annikki Kaivola-Bregenhøj on several national traditions), and change over time (Eva Knuts on the trajectory between "mock brides" and hen parties in Sweden, with some international perspectives). As its heading indicates, the next section, "Local Case Studies" takes closer looks at specific traditions in specific localities. Fredrik Skott deals with "Easter Witches" in Sweden; Ane Ohrvik the star-boys of

Grimstad, Norway; Mari Kulmanen the St Knut's Day mumming at Äetsä, Finland; Siv Ekström and Susanne Österlund-Pötzsch the same custom on the Åland islands; Kristín Einarsdóttir mischief and begging-mummings; Vilborg Davíðsdóttir midwinter house-visits in Iceland. Together these sections usefully counter the frustration provoked by the relatively rapid glimpses of actual activities feasible in the national surveys. Along the way there are useful insights into the "meta-folklore" encompassing local accounts of the origins and development of customs, the significance of "agents" who foster and encourage tradition without themselves directly participating, the differences between neighbouring observances of a given tradition, the transference of tradition from one community to another, the impact of contextual changes such as infrastructure development and the emergence of commercial alternatives for socialization, the generation of variant strategies such as visits to shops rather than households.

The least problematic side of the periphery, mummings without masks (or aspects of mummings other than masks), is here assigned its own section under the heading of "Related Traditions in the Nordic Area". Urpo Vento takes a closer look at the Finnish-Karelian custom of reinforcing house-visit demands for largesse with the threat of breaking the household's oven (figuring previously only as an aspect of other customs); Reimund Kvideland (+) examines a now-defunct variant of the ubiquitous Christmas Goat mumming in which the beast, to the accompaniment of a song, is ceremonially slaughtered -- and here there is space to supply the text; Nils-Arvid Bringéus separates out a St Knut's day custom involving the use of effigies rather than figures in disguise, and a rare instance of an observance in which a major feature is the expression of an attitudes towards the recipients of the visit.

Most peripheral, if in different ways, are the final two sections, one of which, "New Traditions in Masks and Mummings", deals precisely with two of those newly emerging traditions – masking independent of mummings – whose presence was found problematic in the surveys: mischief and masquerading engaged in by pupils matriculating from secondary schools (Terry Gunnell), and "live" roll-playing games (Bodil Nildin-Wall). Against this background Paul Smith's study of the "marketing" of Newfoundland mummering in recent times, contributed to the final section on "Comparable Traditions in Neighbouring Countries", is a useful demonstration that under favourable circumstances the traditional house-visit customs themselves can be approached from an emphatically present-day perspective. This section's other two items, by Emily Lyle and Sémas Ó Catháin, are on mummers' *plays* – respectively Scottish and Irish – precisely the variety of mumming which is least characteristic of Scandinavian tradition, or least cultivated in Scandinavian folkloristics, although here the largely ethnographic approach adopted in both cases contributes substantially to achieving a connection to the study as a whole.

As two books in one, *Masks and Mumming in the Nordic Area* is greater than the sum of its parts, and for once the two can be had for the price of one. But it is tempting to speculate whether the material might have been more effectively presented in two books, divided on a different axis. There is no doubt that if Folkloristics is to thrive or perhaps even survive as an academic discipline, it must engage vigorously and enthusiastically with "modern" customary activities like those covered here (alongside contemporary legends and other emergent traditions such as constructing shrines or placing flowers and candles at the sites of traffic accidents or other tragic events). But while their shared deployment of masks may link

some modern traditions with the older mummings, as suggested above their presentation in such close proximity, whatever its advantages, has been at the cost of some mutual disturbance. If the project, as originally intended, eventually encompasses a website, the greater flexibility of digital presentation may make it easier for individual visitors to focus on the traditional, the modern, or both, in accordance with their respective requirements and preferences.

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From Vision to Action

Kirsi Hänninen: Visiosta toimintaan. Museoiden ympäristökasvatus sosiokulttuurisena jatkumona, säätelymekanismina ja innovatiivisena viestintänä (From Vision to Action. Environmental Education in Museums as a Socio-Cultural Continuum, as a Regulating Mechanism, and as Innovative Communication). (Jyväskylä Studies in Humanities 57.) The University of Jyväskylä, Jyväskylä 2006. 278 pp. Ill. Diss.

Although studies in museology have been possible in Finland since the 1980s, this is only the second dissertation in ethnology in Finland from a museological perspective. Admittedly, though, the amount will be higher if dissertations defended in history and art history would be included. Environmental education for its part has already been the theme of two dissertations in the field of pedagogy. On the other hand, one can also raise the question of whether or not museology should be considered an independent subject as opposed to a subfield within the discipline of ethnology. Either way, museology studies are very popular minor studies among students in ethnology. Already from this point of view Hänninen's study is an important contribution to discussions about the importance of museums for education.

The study is truly multidisciplinary. In addition to ethnology, the author incorporates aspects of social anthropology, museology, environmental sociology and environmental education into her study. The author herself claims that this study belongs to environmental ethnology, which is still a rather unknown field within Finnish ethnology. There have only been a couple of previous studies that could be characterized as environmental ethnology.

The chosen theme, environmental education, is contemporary and fresh, especially in light of the fact that the state is currently taking such an active role in arousing environmental consciousness. This is a task which museums as social institutions have to take into account. The theme is topical also because of a rising interest in environmental issues and an increasing awareness and discussion of environmental questions and problems.

The main concepts, among others, are environmental education, environmental consciousness, environmental anthropology, and environmental ethnology. In general, the author has defined her concepts well. The one exception is culture, which is used in a rather indeterminate and unstable way. She associates herself with research traditions that treat culture as functional, communicational, and communal. For example, on page 32 culture is understood as a synonym for society. In some places culture is even used as an entity unto itself.

Kirsi Hänninen has constructed her theory from the ideas of regulating mechanisms, innovative communication (Veikko Anttila) and environmentalism (Kay Milton). As a hypothesis she asks: is environmental education a socio-cultural continuum or innovative communication? By socio-cultural continuum she is referring to a temporal continuity comprising social and cultural factors. Kirsi Hänninen writes, "the

socio-cultural continuum of environmental education includes the local-studies educations that was used to create a sense of nationality and a love of one's locality, and which sought to support identification and empiricality. The growth of environmental consciousness in the 1970s brought with it a need for environmental education." Innovative communication, for its part, is communication with a novelty value, in which central elements or processes are renewed and it represents a new kind of interaction with the environment.

The main research questions are:
– Why is environmental education gaining an increased importance in museums?
– What are the opinions of museum professionals on environmental education?
– What kind of model can be used for innovative communication and the socio-cultural regulating mechanism of environmental education?
– Is environmental education a socio-cultural continuum or innovative communication?
– What is the relationship of environmental education to society and culture?

Quantitative and qualitative materials are combined in this study. The method which Hänninen has chosen for her study, multiple-strategy (or triangulation), is proven to be successful. She invoked a multi-stage method, in which she first sent out the questionnaires in 2002 and conducted interviews (17 museum professionals) between 2001 and 2004. Further, she also used different documents and publications as her source material. In addition, the author also made use of her extensive experience working in Finnish museums as well as several excursions to different European museums. She has also analyzed her own position and emic perspective taking into account her own interests in protecting nature. While the perspectives gained from her long career working in museums as well as her personal involvement in the topic are not explicitly manifest in the text, they do contribute on a more subtle level to the great enthusiasm with which the study is written. The material is adequate and reliable. The chosen strategy might have something to do with the slightly complicated structure of the dissertation. Also, her personal writing style makes the text heavy to read. But all in all, the reader becomes convinced of the expertise of the author, who is highly devoted to her theme. The dissertation includes eight chapters, with the last chapter serving more or less as a conclusion.

The research material was collected from museum professionals working both in cultural historical and natural historical museums. For her case studies Kirsi Hänninen chose ten different museums in different parts of the country. Hänninen does not specify why she chose these particular museums. Might the reason be simply that environmental education can be recognized only in these cases? But, as a non-museum professional, this is only a guess. There are differences between the two types of museums – cultural historical and natural historical – as well as inside both groups. One of the main ideological differences, to my way of thinking, is that environment/nature and culture have been separated in most cases and especially in the Finnish Museum of Natural History, which is one of the three central national museums in Finland. The author could have analyzed this controversial dichotomy between nature and culture in more detail, because it is contested by several anthropologists and ethnologists and is an essential starting point for representations. Even Hänninen herself writes that the borders between culture and nature are breaking down (p. 109). One example of this is the exhibition at the Sámi Siida Museum in Inari, where culture and nature are represented together in a holistic way.

Her case studies reveal interesting

differences in how environmental education is conducted in Finnish museums. Three of the museums, Aboa Vetus & Ars Nova in Turku, the Finnish Forest Museum and Forest Information Lusto at Punkaharju, and the Museum Centre Vapriikki in Tampere, are pioneers in using innovative communication. Aboa Vetus and Ars Nova concentrates on archaeology and art, whereas Vapriikki has combined cultural and natural historical museum activities and Lusto specializes in forest culture. All of these are relatively new museums. In the municipal museums of Tuusula and Kainuu environmental education is in the project stage and forms a socio-cultural continuum with local-studies education. Aspects of innovative communication also appear in the Kainuu Museum in Kajaani. In Kurala at Kylänmäki – which is often described as an eco-museum and which is a part of the Turku Provincial Museum – in the Provincial Museum of Lapland in Rovaniemi, and in the Nurmes Town Museum, environmental education is at the vision stage. In Siida, the Sámi Museum in Inari, and in the Finnish Museum of Natural History in Helsinki, educational aspects and activities are currently under development. I want to add that the intention of this study was not to investigate the success of environmental education or to create different hierarchies, but rather, to suggest views for understanding the socio-cultural context of environmental education, as Hänninen herself points out.

In the last chapter Hänninen constructed a model of a theoretical socio-cultural regulating mechanism, which combines the results of her study: "Environmental education is a socio-cultural regulating mechanism, in which hope is placed rationally in planning and guided activity. The socio-cultural regulating mechanism comprises regulating factors, change process, ideas, and the meeting of citizens and the environment" (p. 242).

Environmental education represents an adaptation to the changes taking place in the surrounding society. Our duty and task as researchers and ethnologists is to pay attention to the surrounding society and to also study new, current and difficult phenomena. Kirsi Hänninen has written an interesting, innovative and a highly topical dissertation, which serves as a challenge to museum professionals. I do hope that this study will find a well-deserved place in the ideas and work of the museum professionals. Environmental issues are increasing in importance and, as humanists, we must not leave them only for natural scientists.

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Oral History

Lars Hansson & Malin Thor (eds.): Muntlig historia. Lund, Studentlitteratur 2006. 195 pp.

This book puzzles me. Not because it is not a good book – on the contrary, it is very enlightening as regards the oral history learning process, both for students and teachers and also for work in study circles. In a highly instructive manner Malin Thor introduces the fundamentals of oral history, such as oral sources, interviews, criticism of the sources then and now, and collective life stories. Obviously, she struggles with the problem of describing the Truth based on people's memories and with her wish to write a democratic history. History from beneath is exemplified when Mats Greiff presents the reader with a biography of Ernst Nilsson, who was a white-collar worker at Kockum Industries. Greiff relates the individual biography to the history of the entire enterprise and the surrounding Swedish society.

In an interesting article Martin Estvall deals with problems connected to the fact that the values of the interviewer

and the interviewee do not always agree. Should the interviewer express his own values or just stay generally polite or even try to convince the interviewee? In Estvall's case personal feelings of sympathy rescued the situation.

In the middle part of the book Lars Olsson, Lars Hansson and Marion Leffler describe their work with study circles where the participants were researchers and interviewees at the same time.

The book ends with practical exercises and an article on the teaching of oral history at Malmö University.

So, what is puzzling, then? It is the fact that Nordic folklorists have been conducting studies with oral material for decades. Oral material has been the very core of folklore studies ever since the tape recorder was first taken into the field. Even before that oral texts were the foundation for folklore material collections. Moreover, for quite a few decades now, folklorists have entered deeply into the study of life stories. This means that a lot of extremely delicate questions, above all on the ethically sensitive source that is oral material, have been penetrated, discussed, and sometimes even given a solution. Nothing of that tremendous work is mentioned in this book. A handful of Swedish ethnologists can be found mentioned here and there in the footnotes and among the references, but the large number of Finnish folklorists writing on oral material are conspicuous by their absence – although they have published in languages other than Finnish. Not even Norwegian folklorists working with themes such as the very process of creating one's own source or writing about the same issues, such as Nazi history, are mentioned. This narrow perspective on the part of the historians is quite amazing.

I think that we as scholars of human life should consider the hierarchy between disciplines a little more. Generally, folklorists are rather familiar with the gurus of oral history within the discipline of history, whereas historians obviously do not feel obliged to make themselves acquainted with the works of folklorists. Sometimes scholars are criticized for not reading references in many different languages, they are blamed for not knowing books written by their colleagues in other universities. In this book I really do miss an open perspective towards neighbouring disciplines. Why not make use of the knowledge there is already instead of re-inventing the wheel?

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Verses Constructing the Good Woman

Blanka Henriksson: "Var trogen i allt". Den goda kvinnan som konstruktion i svenska och finlandssvenska minnesböcker 1800–1980. Åbo, Åbo Akademi University Press 2007. 292 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss.

The custom among young girls of collecting verses and other inscriptions in memory of friendship was widespread in Europe and North America throughout the nineteenth century and the major part of the twentieth century; it still survives in some countries. The books in which the verses were collected have been given different names: in the USA they are called *autograph books*, in Sweden *poesialbum* (poetry albums) and in Swedish-speaking Finland *minnesböcker* (souvenir books). The verses are of great interest as cultural history because they shed light on the ideals that influenced the construction of the female role in this period. Literary scholars have also taken an interest in these albums, since many of the verses were written by known poets. But it is folklorists above all who have shown an interest in them, which is comprehensible in view of the fact that the verses are a traditional poetic genre with many charac-

teristic features. The major part of the scholarly literature in the field is therefore written by folklorists.

From some countries, especially Germany, there are doctoral dissertations on the custom of keeping autograph books or poetry albums, but Blanka Henriksson's study is the first dissertation on the custom from a Nordic country and is therefore a pioneering work.

The special thing about the poetry in these albums is that it displays a playful side and a more serious side. Both are elucidated in the dissertation, but the emphasis is on the message of the verses concerning what a young girl or woman should be like. As a result, the presentation is not strictly chronological but thematic: certain topics are followed and compared with the way similar feminine ideals are expressed in other sources such as diaries, educational literature, girls' books, and children's magazines, sources that have chiefly been studied by scholars of history and literature.

The reason for this focus may be that there is already a comprehensive popular history of the Finland-Swedish albums and their verses, Carola Ekrem's *Lev lycklig! Glöm ej mig!* (2002). In Ekrem's study the emphasis is on the albums as biographical and literary sources, which is due to the significant contributions to the genre by Swedish-speaking poets such as Franzén, Runeberg, and Topelius. For this reason Henriksson has been forced to find other angles of approach and to examine other aspects in greater depth.

As appropriate in a folkloristic dissertation, she conducts a theoretical discussion on some central topics in folkloristic research about memorial verses and other similar minor genres: the concept of triviality and booklore. The verses in the albums have been described as a genre imbued with triviality: they are stereotyped, and they have been perceived as saccharine and banal. The author admits that this description is justified, but she rightly stresses that scholars should not act as arbiters of taste, but treat their source material with respect and try to interpret it as a cultural expression on a par with others.

One consequence of her attitude is that she has not tried to embellish the material. On the contrary, one is struck by how many of the cited texts are poetically clumsy, misspelled, and misunderstood in one way or another. This makes the texts a testimony to the fact that this is a tradition among young people and children who are not yet sure how to express themselves in writing.

What makes the conceptual pair of folklore–booklore relevant is that many of the album verses can be traced back to known authors. Are they folklore or booklore? Blanka Henriksson lets the function and context of the verses settle the matter: A young girl who writes a verse from a poem by Topelius generally does not know who the author was. For her the verse is just as anonymous as, say, "Du är rosen, jag är törnet, / glöm ej vännen som skrev i hörnet" ("You are the rose, I am the thorn, / forget not the friend who wrote in the corner"). Furthermore, the Topelius verse may have been copied from one album to another in a chain with countless links. In the dissertation all the texts in the albums are labelled folklore, regardless of whether the author is known or not.

Folkloristics is a small academic discipline: the only Swedish-language folkloristic institution is at Åbo Akademi, and few folklorists have taken a Ph.D. Perhaps that is why folkloristic dissertations are often based on a large body of source material. Blanka Henriksson's dissertation is no exception. Her most important sources are 262 albums from Finland and Sweden, together containing about 3,000 texts. This source material is presented in detail in chapter 2, along with the author's methodological considerations during her work. Henriksson has created a database with a large number of entries to

the verses. The task was time-consuming but it was also an important part of the analysis. Entering the data was an act of transcription that raised a number of questions and gave ideas that could be used later. It simultaneously entailed a close-up reading of the texts which made certain central themes visible.

The chapter also presents the contextual material that has proved useful. For the more recent material this consists of the author's and other scholars interviews and questionnaire responses and recorded traditions not previously employed in research contexts. As regards the older material, this involves studies of women's education and reading habits, of children's magazines, nursery rhymes, and school readers.

Chapter 3, the longest in the book, is about the women's writing in the albums. Here the author focuses on the act of writing and the fixed – not to say ritual – rules surrounding this. She presents extensive contextual material reflecting attitudes to album writing and the practical procedure whereby the books were filled with verses, drawings, and scraps. Aspects of power and status come in: not everyone was allowed to write, but some people, such as the teacher, were particularly in demand. Above all, Henriksson shows how the opportunity to play with the form of the verses was utilized. One could hide behind codes and ciphers, one could write horizontally or vertically, and create a metapoetry that illustrates from every possible angle what it was like to write a verse in an album. But even though the aspects of form dominate in this chapter, they are in the end linked to the main aim of the dissertation. The actual point of documenting the sphere of private life in writing, according to the author, was part of the construction of the good woman.

The remaining four chapters of the dissertation are devoted to the image of the ideal woman that the author seeks to expose in her study. It turns out that there are certain key words that recur in the verses, and these change somewhat during the period covered by the albums. In the oldest ones these words are "virtue", "innocence", "gentleness", and "grace". Later other key words become more common, and the ideal now is to be cheerful, content with one's lot, diligent, and hard-working. Verses with allusions to marriage become common towards the end of the nineteenth century. The image of the husband-to-be has a childlike playfulness; he is described as a "handsome lad" or "a little old man", and the future home is portrayed as a rural idyll. The conservative gender pattern is not questioned.

When the author analyses the two themes that were central to the albums from the very beginning, *friendship* and *memory*, she draws on Marcel Mauss's reasoning in *Essai sur le don* (*The Gift*): friendship is something one gives and it presupposes that something is given in return. The poetry albums show that friendship is also something one can collect. Since friendship belongs to the sphere of private life, it is girls who collect verses; boys of the same age liked to collect autographs from the male, public sphere. The most important thing in the transaction that friendship entails is faithfulness. Here the author also considers religious verses, which she links to the ideal of fidelity: the construction of the good woman includes not just being faithful to one's friends but also being firm in one's faith in the best friend of all, God or Jesus.

One merit of the dissertation is that it highlights the albums' testimony to the socialization of young women in the period 1800–1980, showing that the verses are an important complement to the picture painted in other sources such as letters and educational literature. One possible objection is that the author has synthesized a picture that is above all valid up to the mid-twentieth century, when the owners of the albums were slightly older than in the closing phase.

In the last decades the verses changed character to some extent: many were jocular, with fewer prescribing what a young girl should be like. In these late albums one can find a verse that is not cited in the dissertation: “Förälska dig ofta / förlova dig ibland / men gift dig för sjutton så sällan du kan!” (“Fall in love often / get engaged now and then / but for goodness sake marry as seldom as you can!”)

I also think that the author has overemphasized the significance of the Christian poems in the albums. Of course, they should be included in the picture of how the verses construct the good woman, but the reader should not be misled into believing that the album genre as such is a Christian genre. In poetic genres such as bedtime prayers or free-church songs it goes without saying that the Christian message is the main thing, but among the albums there are also many books from a secularized context where the Christian message is of minor importance. The importance of the Christian element would have been clearer if the author had commented on the owner’s religious background. How large a share of the albums come from free-church settings? Are there differences between town and country? The “topography” field in the database has not been used very much.

I cannot see that the findings of the dissertation entail any revision of what previous scholars in the field have arrived at. But the picture of the verses in poetry albums has been made more profound and far more detailed than before. Among other things, the dissertation has given us new knowledge about the writers’ attitudes to the album custom and about the traditional metaphoric language of the verses. Above all, the author demonstrates that an unpretentious folkloristic genre like these verses can be used to reveal significant social and cultural patterns.

The dissertation is well written, the author’s language is vivid and personal. The disposition is also clear and instructive. All in all, the author displays good pedagogical skills, for example, in the informative description of her database. As one would expect in an academic dissertation, she reveals her familiarity with folkloristic theory and empirical material. In view of the fact that professional folklorists are in short supply in today’s academic world, I look forward to further well-informed and well-documented studies by Blanka Henriksson.

Finally, it may be noted that the dissertation contains a couple of indices of memorial verses with a literary background, which ought to be of interest to many scholars of literature. They show that Zacharias Topelius is the poet who has made most contributions to the albums that the author has analysed, with 36 verses. The next most popular is Johan Olof Wallin with 32 verses, followed by Runeberg, Lenngren, Böttiger, Nicander, and Franzén.

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Mother’s Day and Halloween in Sweden

Gillis Herlitz: Mors dag och Halloween. Festseder i förändring. (Etnolore 31.) Uppsala 2007. 250 pp. Ill. Diss.

Gillis Herlitz has submitted a doctoral dissertation in ethnology at the University of Uppsala on the two annual holidays Mother’s Day and Halloween. The author’s intention is to describe and analyse two types of Swedish festival customs which have originated in the United States. Mother’s Day was introduced in the early 1900s and Halloween towards the end of that century. The analysis is based on what is known as “the spirit of the times” (Swed.: *tidsandan*) and its modifications.

A chapter on Mother’s Day follows the introductory chapter. It begins by

describing the initial celebrations of Mother's Day as inspired by their American originator Anna Jarvis, and then goes on to those of her Swedish counterpart Cecilia Bååth-Holmberg and her circle of friends just previous to 1920. Further on in this chapter the presentation of the custom's subsequent development during the 1900s is based on the author's own subjective division into approximate periods of time. The periods of time are entitled "Establishment 1920–1925", "Consolidation 1925–1945", "Culmination 1945–1965", "Recession 1965–1980" and "Renaissance? 1980–2000". In this context, the author addresses the analytical issues relating to the original introduction of the Mother's Day custom and its continued celebration up to the present day.

Chapter three deals in a comparable manner with the celebration of Halloween, but here the time perspective is much shorter. It is the 1990s that are the subject of study and not the first years of the new century up to the present day. The background of Halloween in Eire, England and the United States is presented in detail based on previously published literature. The author then proceeds to a discussion of Sweden in which he utilizes archival and fieldwork materials. The question at issue is the manner in which Halloween has been celebrated during these first years by both children and adults. Chapter four presents a brief and concluding discussion of celebratory customs in a process of change.

Concepts

With reference to the concept of *custom*, the author refers to page 11 in the Swedish National Encyclopaedia. Instead, he ought to have reflected on the discussions which have taken place in ethnology on the history of this discipline. At the Nordic Ethnology and Folklore Congress in Finland in 1981, an entire session was devoted to this precise concept of custom (published in *Trends in Nordic Tradition Research*, 1983, p. 83 ff). In the Festchrift honouring the ethnologist Nils-Arvid Bringéus in Lund 1991, the editors Jonas Frykman and Orvar Löfgren deliberately disregarded the concept custom and entitled the book *Svenska vanor och ovanor* ("Swedish habits and bad habits").

Jonas Frykman used the concept *ritual* instead of custom at the Nordic Ethnology and Folklore Congress on Gotland in 1978. The inspiration for this use of ritual with a secular content obviously was inspired by the publication of the anthology *Secular Rituals* in 1977, edited by the anthropologists Sally Falk Moore and Barbara Meyerhoff.

The discussion about using ritual in place of custom is continued in the book *Gatan är vår. Ritualer på offentliga platser,* edited by Barbro Klein. She justifies the usage of the concept ritual instead of custom by showing that ritual does not encompass "the embryonic and the developmental" thus leading the way towards Halloween but bears instead upon "studied models and hereditary patterns", (p. 13) or, in other words, a concentration on tradition. In order to facilitate an illustration of the processual, Arne Bugge Amundsen, Oslo, recommends using the concept *ritualization* (*Ritualer. Kulturhistoriske studier*, 2006, p. 15). Another concept that should have been problematized in this dissertation is *festival*. The book's subheading does, after all, include the words festive customs. The author has not discussed just what he means by festival, however, nor the connotations in which discussions in previous cultural research have placed this concept. This instance brings to my mind the symposium held in Copenhagen in 1978 that resulted in the anthology *Studiet av fester*, 1979, edited by Flemming Hemmersam and Bjarne Hodne.

The author utilizes the word *rhetoric* (p. 113) without providing a definition of the concept. He employs material col-

lected in the Folk-life Archive's questionnaire surveys as comprising the converse of rhetoric in public discussions. In this connection, the concept *praxis* could have been used. The difference between rhetoric and praxis opens up an interesting research perspective for cultural scholars.

The concept *discourse* might well serve as an alternative to the undefined word rhetoric. In Swedish ethnology, Birgitta Svensson has been an especially keen proponent of this Michel Foucault-related concept. Herlitz uses the word discourse on page 21 without placing it in any scientific context.

The author assigns great significance to the concept *the spirit of the times* in his analysis. Problematically, this concept's scientific explanatory value is complicated by the fact that it is so imprecise and wide-ranging. It is extremely difficult to fix the limits of this concept, and its utilization in an analytic context can therefore easily become arbitrary and uncertain. Birgitta Svensson has also discussed the concept the spirit of the times. She emphasizes the fact that one can approach the spirit of the times by means of discourse, defined as the way of speaking. In her case, this is then an object of investigation and not, as with Herlitz, an analytical concept.

For Herlitz (p. 27), the spirit of the times is a concept situated on the macro-level. This leads to the question of whether political decision- making, on the macro-level, constitute expressions of the spirit of the times. This is what the author appears to believe. The present reviewer wonders, however, whether any- thing in addition to political decisions can affect the spirit of the times. The consumer society and the entertainment industry have, according to the author, played an important role in the acceptance of Halloween celebrations. This leads the present reviewer to ask whether these too are determined by political decision- making. It must surely be more a matter of determination due to economic forces and technological development rather than political decision-making.

As an example of how the author applies the concept of the spirit of the times in his analysis, I will call attention to the section entitled *The Time* (pp. 49 and 50), relating to the period around 1919. Firstly, this section is almost entirely lacking in source references. Secondly, that which is included or excluded appears overly arbitrary. On page 50, for example, the author deliberately avoids any inclusion of popular movements. In the Free Church movements, however, the role of mothers was an essential element of discussion. The decade after 1910 was the period during which popular movements attained one of their absolute peaks. During this period, spokespersons for the IOGT enjoyed manifest representation in the Swedish parliament and were thus able to exercise a marked influence on the country's political development.

The folklorist Ane Ohrvik, Oslo, has published a paper entitled "Halloweeen! Ritualization as entrepreneurship", (in *Ritualer*, 2006). She has conducted an in-depth study of a conscious *actor* and *innovator* involved in the introduction of Halloween celebrations in Norway. This man, given the fictional name Paul Walker, grew up in the United States and thereafter worked for several years as an electrical engineer in Norway. His interest for introducing Halloween celebrations in Norway was based on the positive social experiences these celebrations afforded him during his youth in the United States. He was far less interested in financial gain. Instead, his motives were more of a cultural, idealistic and social than economic nature (Ohrvik, p. 157). This man, whom Ohrvik designates an entrepreneur, began by arranging private Halloween celebrations in 1996 in Oslo. These were then moved to major entertain-

ment venues in Oslo where they gained great popularity. One might ask in this context whether Bengt Olander constitutes a comparable entrepreneur for the celebration of Halloween in Sweden. What has been his motive? It would appear from Herlitz' presentation that it has not been cultural interest but rather a motive based on economic gains, in other words that he has been motivated by purely commercial interests. This should not be regarded as surprising, given that Olander manages the company LECO AB, Sweden's largest supplier of masquerade costumes and equipment. His role as an innovator could have been discussed and problematized in the dissertation. Cecilia Bååth-Holmberg can be said to have a comparable function in connection with the introduction of Mother's Day. The perspective of entrepreneurship and innovation can prove to be quite as vital to the analysis as the imprecise and uncertain perspective of the spirit of the times.

Previous research

The author makes little use of evaluation in the section (pp. 12–16) entitled *Previous research*, for the clarification of his own research position. What is his present position, and what is his goal in the light of previous research? Which theoretical perspectives can he avail himself of? With regard to theories, the author states that he makes use of functionalism and interactionalism. On page 20, he discusses functionalism and interactionalism, referring to older and established anthropological scholars such as Malinowski and Radcliff-Brown. On the other hand, he has no references to historical ethnological research, for instance as to how these scholars' theoretical approaches have been utilized by Scandinavian ethnologists.

I find the author's presentation to lack references to various *current international research*. This applies not only to studies of uses of costumes, but also to studies of yearly rituals. A Scandinavian project entitled "Masks and Mumming in the Nordic Countries" has been led since 2000 by Terry Gunnell, Iceland, and Carsten Bregenhøj, Finland. 2005 saw the establishment of a European SIEF-commission dealing with the theme "The Ritual Year". The author does not appear to be aware of the work of this commission whose activities must be said to have great relevance for his study.

The author's relationship to Agneta Lilja's study of Halloween celebrations *Sockrade hjärtan och godissugna spöke*n, 1998, is one I consider to be important enough to be the object of specific commentary. Herlitz remarks about this publication: "Agneta Lilja poses similar questions in her study to those that I am interested in. At times it even transpires that we have interviewed the same persons and received similar answers" (p. 15). Shouldn't this have led to considerations about the obvious risk of unnecessary duplication of work? Why should two scholars interview the same persons concerning the same topic? Herlitz actually began his work while Lilja was still engaged in her study. With regard to the division of labour that can have taken place between the two scholars, Lilja states in footnote 369 (p. 101), that her study involved an adult population while Herlitz' study also included children. Inasmuch as his dissertation was published many years later than Lilja's study, which was limited to the initial phase of Halloween celebrations in Sweden, Herlitz ought to have been able to shed new light on the process of reception in the following years.

Empirical data

According to information (pp.17 and 247), the author sent out a *questionnaire* about Mother's Day, but not about Halloween, in 2002. This latter questionnaire was sent out in 1997. A following-up of Halloween celebrations in

2002 would have had great value considering that such celebrations had only just entered their initial phase in 1997. Much can have occurred in the ensuing five years.

Based on the information (pp. 17 and 247) concerning *interviews*, I would put the question as to whether the author might not have interviewed some of the personnel at kindergartens, after-school recreation centres and schools. This would have provided in-depth answers to compare with the surveys and questionnaire answers about possible attitudes towards celebration. This could have brought him insights not only into the outward appearance of celebrations, but also into the conceptions and lines of reasoning which arose with reference to such celebration. In his discussion of the use of interviews, conversations and conversation-interviews (p.18), the author does not make use of any of the methodological literature. It can be taken as a general rule that such methodological discussions are practically nonexistent in this dissertation.

The author could have made systematic *observations* around the period of Halloween in the Uppsala region during the years 1997–2006, especially in the public sphere. The observations that are mentioned do not seem to be systematically conducted. Has the author simply strolled around in Uppsala during the one year of 1998? This would seem to be the case based on the text on page 160.

It appears (p. 16) that the author has examined *newspapers* with reference to Halloween in the years 1990–2000, but not in later years. The period of time after 2000 could have provided new perspectives on change in useful comparison to Agneta Lilja's synchronal study. Ane Ohrvik reports that the number of newspaper articles on Halloween celebrations in Norway showed an explosive increase during the 2000s (*Ritualer*, 2006, p. 141).

Agneta Lilja published *colour photographs* illustrating Halloween celebrations. Ane Ohrvik also uses colour photographs. Such photographs add a powerful visual dimension, especially because they call attention to the play of the orange colour typical to Halloween. Such colours are supposed to aid in disturbing and frightening onlookers. This feeling is not shared by the reader when viewing the black-and-white photographs in the author's dissertation. The author has, in fact, placed minimal emphasis on analyses of illustrations and other objects of material culture linked to Halloween. The book has a limited number of illustrations. The author might well have used more photographs as an aid to visualizing this culture. The presentation of Mother's Day celebrations also lacks photographs. Those illustrations that do occur are made up of sketches from the humorous periodical *Strix*, 1919 (p. 77), Mother's Day cards (p. 91) and drawings in Mother's Day publications (pp. 95, 99 and 103). These depict the rhetoric, but not the actual reality.

Certain literary sources should be regarded as being less reliable or, at least, as secondary source material. This applies to Karin Johansson's little 53-page pamphlet *Till Mor* ("To Mother") printed in 1974. Herlitz refers to it several times when describing a historical development in both Sweden and other countries, such as, for example, Mothering-Sunday in past times (p. 34 ff). It ought to have been possible to find better source material in English than this insignificant publication. Johansson's references are very few in number. These include, among other items, eight Swedish and American magazine articles published between 1969 and 1973.

Interpretive perspective

The author's presentation includes numerous *speculative interpretations*. The probability orientation in many of these analyses is conspicuous. This is for the most part due to the difficulty inherent

in the determination of the spirit of the times. The author attempts to interpret the proposal for an introduction of Mother's Day celebrations in the light of eugenic reasonings (p. 70). He uses the word "possibly" about the fears prevailing among supporters of this proposal regarding the quality of the population, and the words "every occasion for believing" as to their unease regarding the country's falling birth rate. One can find the expression "one conjecture is" (p. 145). The author ought to have used the word assumption instead of conjecture inasmuch as this concerns a scientific presentation. In his interpretation of a difference between Sweden and the United States concerning children's use of costumes and masks, the author utilizes no less than seven speculative expressions in one and the same section (p. 179f). When conducting probability-oriented research, the scholar's goal must be to find as many indicia as possible in the empirical data and in relevant literature in support of the chosen interpretation.

I also wish to comment on the author's use of the word "why" which constitutes a key concept in scientific analyses. He uses this concept both when he poses the scientific question why, for instance attempts to determine various influential factors, and also when he refers to the actor's or supporter's arguments or motives for the introduction of a new custom, whether this be Mother's Day or Halloween. There is a paragraph captioned *Why was Mother's Day celebrated*? (p. 64 ff) in which the author explains the motivations presented by supporters during the initial phase around 1919. The paragraph's caption ought therefore be changed to read "Motivations for propagating (or arguing) for the celebration of Mother's Day". The author's own analysis begins on page 67. This is where he discusses the different phenomena of the times that can have had influence on the development.

Moralic panic

Every country in which Halloween has gained access has seen the appearance of various forms of criticism against such celebration. This is also the case with the United States. Based on the book *Folk Devils and Moralic Panics,* written by the British sociologist Stanley Cohen (first edition 1972), the concept moralic panic has come to be discussed in many studies. Herlitz does not regard the types of opposition and criticism that have occurred in Sweden (pp. 158, 191 and 195) to be of so serious a nature that they ought to be characterized as the result of moralic panic. Agneta Lilja points out that this concept has been adapted to conditions in the United States (p. 88), but that it is unthinkable in Sweden. Celebrations of Halloween in Norway appear to have taken more violent forms than in Sweden, according to the description given by Ane Ohrvik (2006, p. 156). Where can the border line be placed in order to indicate whether the scholar can speak of moralic panic rather than anxiety? Questions concerning this border line might well have been discussed by Herlitz. Anxiety has to do with the inner aspect, for instance the level of experience, while moralic panic involves an outer aspect in which an inner anxiety provokes a definite outer activity aimed at the phenomena in society that one fears.

The scholar's role

The author states (p. 19) that he has no definite opinion, positive or negative, concerning the festivals he is studying. This would appear to mean that his *scholarly ideal* is one of being neutral or objective. This then raises the question of whether the scholar can continue to be unaffected by research objects while contemplating and analysing them. Nonetheless, one cannot escape queries as to the scholar's subject- position. In this context the author might have referred to the reflexivity debate which

took place in Swedish ethnology, in particular during the 1990s.The author's apparently neutral standpoint can be compared to those held by the ethnologists Jonas Frykman and Agneta Lilja, who have expressed themselves in an appraising manner to the media about Halloween celebrations, for instance in a condescending and appreciative manner, respectively.

Periodization

The author has made a *subjective periodization* with regard to the celebration of Mother's Day starting with its initial phase in 1919. This is made up of approximate numbers of years which serve as a visualization of the different phases in the developmental process. It is advantageous that the periods of time are not made up of fixed years, but are instead related to processes of change ranging from start to decline and also including a possible renaissance. I question, however, whether any unmistakable indicia exist to confirm this renaissance or if it is so insignificant as to be barely visible. The author bases his reasoning about a possible renaissance on the occurrence at that time of a slight increase in the number of advertisements as compared to previous periods. The table on page 119 indicates an increase in the number of advertisements in several of the newspapers cited, but not in all of them. A deviation is shown in the major newspapers *Göteborgs- Posten* and *Upsala Nya Tidning*, in both of which a decided decrease was registered.

The concepts of innovation, regression and revitalisation have long been utilized in previous ethnological research. Here the author instead uses the concepts establishment, consolidation, culmination, declination and renaissance?, the question mark being inserted by the author himself. He might profitably have linked these concepts to previous ethnological research pertaining to revitalization and nostalgia.

Why have no questions been posed by the author about possible forms of periodization in connection with Halloween? This ought to have been possible even if the period of time concerned is short. With regard to such periods of time, Halloween celebrations have had an initial phase which thus would have given the author opportunities for collecting contemporary material on praxis. Such opportunities would be impossible in relation to the initial phase of Mother's Day, occurring as it did during the 1920s. 2007 may be said to constitute the same time period for Halloween as 1929 did for Mother's Day with regard to the initial periods of 1996/1997 and 1919, respectively. It may well be that the establishment phase has passed into the consolidation phase, to use the author's own terms. It may also be possible that we have already reached a phase of decline, if one is to judge by the newspaper articles published during the autumn of 2006. An article in the newspaper *Aftonbladet* for 31 October 2006 claims that "Halloween for adults is totally dead". It may be that processes of change occur much faster nowadays than during the inter-war years. These are questions that the author would have been able to discuss if he had chosen to deal with data from the 2000s instead of setting his ultimate limit in time at the year 2000 (p. 148).

Regional differences

The author believes that no regional differences as to innovation processes manifest themselves or can be established in the present day, inasmuch as the media and the internet contribute to everyone receiving knowledge of new events at much the same time (p. 147). This is something that he presumes without verification. The ethnologist Mats Rehnberg stated in his dissertation in 1965, concerning the usage of candles on graves on All Saints' Eve, that the custom was first introduced in the Stockholm region before being succes-

sively spread throughout the country. The sociologist on religion Göran Gustafsson, who has studied church customs in Sweden in 1995 and 2002, has discovered that in most respects the Stockholm region is still the most receptive to innovations when compared to the rest of Sweden (in *Luka 27 om Kyrklig sed* 2002, 2006). In this connection, one might wonder whether one factor in the innovator Bengt Olander's success with his pioneering Halloween initiatives can be the fact that he does business in Stockholm.

Comparisons between Mother's Day and Halloween

In chapter four, the author provides a conclusion of what he has arrived at with respect to a perspective of change. In this connection, and for the first time, Mother's Day and Halloween are discussed concurrently. The link between these two festivals is, however, weak. A perspective of change can scarcely be brought to apply to Halloween considering the ultimate limit in time decided upon by the author.

I would pose the question as to whether it would not have been better for the author to have chosen *Father's Day* instead of Halloween as an object for comparison. He could then have made a comparative study of change covering a longer period of time insofar as Father's Day was introduced earlier than Halloween in Sweden, in 1931. He would also have been able to construct a gender perspective for the celebrations. As is the case with Mother's Day and Halloween, Father's Day originated in the United States (Nils-Arvid Bringéus *Årets festdagar*, 1999, p. 160).

The author emphasizes that Mother's Day no longer is in keeping with the spirit of the late 1990s, considering society's altered view of motherhood and the care of the home. Perhaps Father's Day might be more suitable as to the spirit of the times if one emphasizes the father's contributions in today's home in connection with children's births and the child's further growth. If the spirit of the times is indeed as important as the author argues, Father's Day ought to have a stronger position than Mother's Day, at least on the level of discourse or rhetoric. Human praxis remains to be studied, however.

In closing, I will like to emphasize how interesting it has been to become acquainted with the subject matter in Gillis Herlitz' dissertation. An insight into the different chapters has provided me with the many ideas that I have presented here. The dissertation is written in an easily understood language and should have interest for all those who are interested in annual festivals and their formulation in the 1900s.

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Accounts of Folklife from Nyland

Roger Holmström: Att ge röst. Omvärld och identitet i några nyländska folklivsberättelser. Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland, nr 678. Helsingfors 2005. 220 pp. Ill.

Roger Holmström looks with today's eyes at descriptions of folklife by six Finland-Swedish authors from the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century. In the book he gives an account of previous scholars' analyses and opinions of each author. At the same time he reveals, occasionally, how he himself regards these authors' descriptions today.

There are everyday stories about craft guilds in the city, and the lower bourgeoisie in the late nineteenth century. We hear feminist-sounding voices telling of women's everyday lives in Helsinki. Women with occupations such as gold embroidery, quilting, or polishing ironing were active in Helsinki. Other descriptions deal with the crofters' issue

and the civil war, social injustices and the harsh conditions of people without property. Yet there are also examples of social solidarity among the Swedish-speaking working class in Finland.

The book is a kind of compilation of six authors, whom Holmström puts in their context in Swedish literature in Finland. As illustrations to the text there are portrait photographs of the authors and more or less famous Finnish works of art in black and white; only the cover picture is in colour. The works of art have no direct connection to the content of the book and there are no details of the techniques. In the body text there are no visible notes, but there are comments and notes at the end of the book.

I think the book would have gained if Holmström had give a clearer presentation of his own findings and experiences of reading the accounts and thus added a more interesting personal touch to the contents. The Swedish language as used in Finland can sometimes give readers in Sweden an "exotic" impression.

Anyone looking for a background and foundation for studies of folklife descriptions among the common people from this period will find interesting fictitious narratives here, in other words, these are not documentary records. There is also a long list of further works to dig into.

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Guide to the Study of Ritual – Theories and Application

Anne-Christine Hornborg: Ritualer. Teorier och tillämpning. Studentlitteratur, Lund 2005. 197 pp.

The research interest of Anne-Christine Hornborg, anthropologist of religion, seems to fall within contemporary social life, in particular the life conditions of specific groups of native people following European contact. Her fieldwork approach is related to research history and to theoretical perspectives. In this book, the attempt is to analyze and describe how groups and individuals shape, and are shaped by, the cultural worlds in which they live their lives. Hornborg's dissertation (Lund 2001) deals with the modern-day Mi'kmaq Indians of Eastern Canada, a group focused also in the new volume, *Ritualer. Teorier och tillämpning* (*Rituals. Theories and Application.* Lund 2005). The struggle with social change and existential striving coming to the fore here shows traits similar to those of many other indigenous people following European colonization, e.g. the Maori of New Zealand. Hornborg's new book is a guide to the study of ritual. It is implicated in the process that ritual can be used creatively today. Issues and methods elaborated in the fairly new cross-disciplinary field of Ritual Studies are illuminated.

Part 1 includes chapters on various aspects of theory involved in the study of ritual, among them also the history of the study of ritual, as well as matters of definition. "Early" prospects seeing ritual as engagement in holy activity have been followed by developments connecting ritual either to human communication, to symbols or to living social practice. Hornborg formulates her own understanding (closely to Jean and John Comaroff) like this: ritual is an active force in history and not just a religious act set apart from the rest of everyday life. Thus, ritual is a factor bringing about individual and social transformation and renewal (p. 19). My impression is that there is little agreement among scholars concerning what ought to be included or excluded in concepts related to rite, ritual, ritualization. Individual scholars should, in my opinion, therefore clearly state their own values and premises in every new context. The conceptions of Sigmund Freud and Erik H. Erikson are said to deal mostly with aspects of individual ritual conduct,

whereas the ideas of scholars such as Émile Durkheim, Alfred Radcliffe-Brown and Bronislaw Malinowski embrace social aspects. More recent scholarly research is represented by Victor Turner's consecutive work. According to him, ritual is a significant factor in human processes and symbolizing activities. Clifford Geertz (who died in 2006) is included as another scholar interested in symbols and meaning making. In the context of Stanley J. Tambiah's performance theory, Hornborg concludes that "rites are social activities". The function of social communication is to bring individuals together. It is argued that both formal traits of rites and actual performance factors play important roles. Practice theory is a perspective Hornborg herself finds meaningful. This thinking evolved among anthropologists who wanted to put through an understanding of ritual as a living practice (also) in profane contexts, serving as a means for people today to realize their lives creatively. Ritual seen as something static, connected to structural conceptions only, or reduced to contexts dealing with "nothing but" traditional religion or cultures of the past, were criticized, as was the thought that rituals are acceptable because they might help resolve conflicts threatening the social system. Scholars referred to in this section are Marshall Sahlins, Marcel Gauss, Pierre Bourdeau, Maurice Bloch. Catherine Bell, too, is said to represent a variation of practice theory.

Theorists mentioned when phenomenological aspects and the bodily dimension of human perception and interpretation get attention, are, among others, Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Bourdieau and Thomas Csordas and Meredith McGuire. Csordas' concept "somatic modes of attention" – very early ways of perceiving reality – is described as "culturally elaborated ways of attending to and with one's body in surroundings that include the embodied presence of others" (p. 70). "Anthropology of the body" (Michael Jackson's term) reflects the need felt to escape merely cognitive and linguistic modes of interpreting experience. The view of Harvey Whitehouse on ritual from the perspective of cognitive science is described.

In the discussion on the character of ritual acts, Roy Rappaport's contribution is referred to, as well as to Caroline Humphrey's and James Laidlaw's attempt to formulate a general theory of rites. The work of Jone Salomonsen is given as an example of the growing interest in creating new rites.

In part 2, three case studies provide insight into the Mi'kmaq society. Thanks to informative examples this application is quite illuminating. The first case study addresses the relationship to French Catholicism and to British colonialism. Hornborg concludes that, to some degree, the Mi'kmaq find ways to use ritual forms of the past meaningfully in new situations. The second study, on working in the field, discusses observations and reflections related to the author's experiences of the kekunit-ceremony and of the sweat lodge. The bodily dimension of experience and ways of working through a new sense of esteem in ritual settings, are discussed. It is also argued that colonial history and hegemony marked the bodily existence of the Mi'kmaq, because loss of land and loss of cultural independence also meant the loss of native ways of self expression and of leading one's own life. Renewed rituals offer the process of culturally embodying new traits of identity a shared space. These rituals have, in the view of the Mi'kmaq, therapeutic, spiritual qualities.

A volume intended primarily for university students has to limit its scope somewhat, without leaving out necessary facts and reasoning. Hornborg manages to balance her presentation well. The account deals with important human topics in an accessible and instructive way. On some points, though, I might have wanted more details, more

systematic analysis, more explicit discussion of concepts and presuppositions underlying theory constructs and choice of method. But, altogether, the book provides a fresh, personal and informative perspective on how rituals are studied and can be employed in fieldwork today. A book like this will give rise to discussion among interested readers. Psychological and healing aspects of rituals are emphasized. Significant as they are, they do not, in my opinion, represent the phenomenon as a whole. I am critical to the way some of the terms are used (e.g. "religious", which seems to imply some mental attitude having very little to do with the human body and actual living life, whereas "spiritual" suggests a more all round character). Also, the term revitalization is problematic. In the context, the term can hardly be taken in the literary sense of the word, since, on one hand, the Mi'kmaq tradition probably never entirely disappeared, and, on the other, the increasing use of elements of central Mi'kmaq tradition involves elements from various other traditions and a shared field of identity formation. It would have been nice, too, to get more examples of living ritual practice. How do the Mi'kmaq say prayer now, how do they address the instance that to them represents God.

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Oral History of the Family

Pauliina Latvala: Katse menneisyyteen. Folkloristinen tutkimus suvun muistitiedosta. (English summary: A Glimpse into the Past. A Folkloristic Investigation into Oral History of the Family.) Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Toimituksia 1024. Helsinki, Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura 2005. 311 pp. Diss.

The Finnish Literature Society has collected written narratives since 1935. In the 1997 the Finnish Literature Society arranged a collection campaign by the name Great Narrative of the Family (*Suvun suuri kertomus*) where 720 respondents sent in their own writings about their family history. Pauliina Latvala has used these written narratives in her doctoral thesis, A Glimpse into the Past. A Folkloristic Investigation into Oral History of the Family *(Katse menneisyyteen. Folkloristinen tutkimus suvun muistitiedosta*). Latvala has chosen 495 texts from the collection, from which she has made a detailed analysis of twelve responses.

In her study Latvala has analysed how the dialogue between oral history and the past appears in the collection's texts, specifically how Finns represent the past. She has also shown an interest in the problems of reminiscence materials and links her study to the studies of oral history. Additionally she has been influenced by gender studies. Moreover, using text analysis, she has made a detailed analysis of the structure of the texts, its narrative patterns and rhetorical devices, as well as the writer's intentions. Latvala has based her analysis on M. A. Halliday's model for spoken language analysis and it seems to suit Latvala's study well, because she found devices such as dialog, metanarratives including variations of both passive and active styles, which can be found from oral narratives.

According to the Halliday model, it is possible to find three simultaneous semantic metafunctions from the texts: ideational, interpersonal and textual levels. In Latvala's study, the ideational metafunction includes the thematic body of the text, the protagonists, the temporal, and geographical setting. Latvala has researched the interpersonal elements from the text intentions, the writers' positions, shadow dialogue, the use of a distancing or sympathising stance and dialogue internal to the text. According to Latvala, these elements

provide the answer to the question of who the text is intended for. Moreover, Latvala has divided the writers' positions in to five categories: rememberer; speculator; tale-teller; provider of basic knowledge; and enlightener. These positions reflect writers' ways of taking into account a possible reader or archive. According to Latvala, the experienced writers use these positions variously in their texts. Additionally, Latvala have divided the writers according to their views from agrarian culture to the idealistic, and from the point of view of marginal and diversifying views. The style of the texts varied from analytical to confessional, but also humorous styles were found.

Latvala has analysed the conventions of writing and reminiscence in an interesting manner. According to her, writers have chosen the narrative pattern from the methods of family research, biographies, reminiscences, history books and books of fiction and poetry. The writings were based on different sources: oral history; local history; family research; different documents and fotographs. Some writings recall the ethnographic documentary films in their way of describing work and life. However, texts were produced individually, and their writings narrators have not always followed the given themes of the archive collection competition or expectations of recipients.

Writers have textually reconstructed past and their roots and felt that they belong to the chain of generations. However, some writers have critically contemplated oral history of the family and wanted to liberate themselves from its painful memories and emotions. By giving narrative voice to selected groups and persons, they express their thoughts and interpretations of history. Additionally they took part in the general discussions of society and left a life-historical document for the younger generations. It was normal for writers to highlight the everyday life and history of women and minorities, because these have often been forgotten in official history writings. Writers have contemplated historical events, educational policy, gender system and the changes of family structure as a frame for family history.

Latvala's purpose was to analyse how gender is represented in oral history. In her study, the history of women was well represented and emphasized. The majority of the writers were women, but Latvala has not seen it as being problematic. Women writers describe women's role in the family, both their own experiences and other's as well. Men seem to be more or less passive in the texts; men and their actions were in the focus of women's reminiscence and criticism too, but men seldom write or analyse their own role as a father or husband in a family. Additionally, men usually write about their wives and children in a positive way, while women strongly criticise the gender system and the inequality between men and women in the family. These values became visible especially in writings about crises and conflicts in the family. Men's positive attitudes in Latvala's study differ from other studies of men's life stories, where the miserable life experiences of men had been stressed. However, what Latvala does not analyse are the differences in the result between the collect- ing campaigns and the reading methods.

Overall, Latvala has described well the research process, the methods and how she has read and analysed texts; however, she did not tell much about the process concerning how and why she has selected the twelve texts from the collection for closer analyse. Latvala has made a detailed analysis of the structure of the text, its narrative patterns and rhetorical devices and writers' intentions. The study was mostly focused on narratives, not on the individuals and families behind the texts. Additionally she does not analyse how the writers' socio-economical background, educa-

tion, occupation and ethnicity have influenced narratives and writers intentions. Latvala rather emphasises general changes in Finnish society as a frame for oral history of the family.

In Latvala's study, the Finnish Literature Society and its collecting campaigns has an important position. When Latvala describes the history of these collecting campaigns, she gives a picture of the archive's role as a collector and recipient of folklore and oral history. The archive also has a responsibility to organise and analyse texts so that it will serve researchers' needs to locate different kinds of texts. Latvala's work shows that the many-sidedness of those reminiscing is a challenge for the researchers and the archive alike. Therefore it is important to provide and develop the methods of how to organise texts in archives.

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K nslornas koreografi

Känslornas koreografi. Reflektioner kring känsla och förståelse i kulturforskning. Lena Marander-Eklund & Ruth Illman (eds.) Gidlunds förlag, Hedemora 2007. 200 pp. ISBN 978-91-7844-735-0.

The title meaning "The Choreography of Emotions" was basically all that I knew about the edited volume I was asked to review. The rather unusual title naturally invited speculation about the content. The term choreography leads one's thoughts to moving but ordered action on a stage. I immediately ruled out classical ballet, with its strictly regulated movements, as a model for a book project about emotions. It was the image of "free dance" that arose in my mind – the modern choreography as represented particularly by the innovative Birgit Cullberg, who gave her dancers an opportunity to illustrate feeling and events more freely through movement and mime.

When the book arrived, answers to some of my questions came in the introduction. The two editors, Lena Marander-Eklund and Ruth Illman, invoke the title to clarify the message about the significance of emotions in culture studies. They write: "Just as choreography gives the dancers a creative framework for an artistic interpretation, we envisage that these texts can serve as inspirational tools – not as a set of rules – for researchers grappling with issues of emotions and understanding. The choreography is creative rather than normative" (p. 8).

It seems reasonable, then, to let free modern choreography symbolize the scientific scenario constituted by the articles assembled in this book. After having read the whole volume, I can describe it as a diverse patchwork of events, representations, emotions, and empathy.

The twelve authors work in different humanistic disciplines: philosophy, theology, comparative religion, and folkloristics. They are given brief presentations by the editors in the introduction. We also find there a joint rejection of the positivist idea that all true knowledge is objective and impersonal, whereas emotion, interpretation, and empathy are dismissed as being subjective and hence do not belong to the sphere of science. The editors also explain how the articles are grouped in three different sections entitled: "The Significance of Emotions in the Process of Understanding", Emotions and Reflections in Fieldwork", and "Emotions as a Research Object". This division makes it easier to assimilate the diverse contents by clarifying how the articles deal in different ways with the common theme of emotion.

The first article, "Criticism–Emotion–Self-Criticism", is by Bengt Kristensson Uggla, professor of philoso-

phy, culture, and business administration. It is a knowledgeable and interesting article full of ideas about general aspects of the theme of the book. He discusses how there has been a kind of renaissance for emotions in today's society, noticeable in most fields, including scholarship. He reminds us of the historical change that has taken place, from the view of emotions as unscientific to a broader hermeneutic outlook which includes emotions and understanding as a necessary complement to a purely objective explanation. He shows how this change can be detected not just along a general timeline but also in individual named researchers through the years, for example, in the works of Wittgenstein, Dilthey, and Gadamer. Kristensson Uggla devotes special interest to Paul Ricoeur's research. In connection with the epistemological change that can be followed in Ricoeur's writings from the 1960s to the present decade, Kristensson Uggla discusses general problems in hermeneutics. Instead of perceiving an opposition, as earlier research did, between the aim of natural science to *explain* and the aim of human science to *understand*, Ricoeur has arrived at a dialectic view of the two principles of interpretation. Kristensson Uggla formulates Ricoeur's *critical hermeneutics* as follows: "Understanding and explanation, emotion and reason, empathy and distance, suspecting and listening, no longer seem like mutually exclusive alternatives, but as dialectically related, in a process where they imply each other" (p. 23). However much the reader may be acquainted with the historical process that has led to a new epistemological outlook, or with the nature of hermeneutics, I think that Kristensson Uggla's insightful treatment of these problems is valuable as an introduction to a book in which all the authors, in one way or another, apply the basic ideas of hermeneutics in both method and theory.

The authors appear to be very independent in their choice of topic, in the analytical tools they use, and in the theorists by whom they are inspired. It strikes me that the writers, by showing such creativity and self-confidence, fulfil the purpose of the book, to serve as inspiration rather than rules for scholars who choose emotions and understanding as their field of research. It is possible that this approach has made the articles so varied and individual.

Another article in the first section is by Ruth Illman, associate professor of comparative religion. She discusses the essence of hermeneutics from different aspects and tries to make its meaning concrete with reference to a study she performed for her doctorate. She was attached to a project for Finnish trainees in a multinational company working on different building sites in Africa, Asia, and South America. They were asked to keep a diary about their experiences, emotions, and reactions in the encounter with the local people and their culture. These notes were usually highly personal and emotional. To understand and interpret this material, which was extremely varied and chaotic, Illman used Martin Buber's two concepts I–You and I–It. According to Buber, the encounter of the self with the surrounding world, both living things and inanimate objects, takes place in two different ways. I–You may be seen as an intuitive emotional preunderstanding which can develop into an ordered, more rationally controlled I–It relation, which in turn can deepen what was initially a more emotional understanding. The insight that both these processes are active in all people helped Illman to interpret the disparate diary material. The first reading had a profound emotional effect on her, and she spontaneously perceived the separate diary texts as being either decidedly sympathetic or unsympathetic. In other words, she made a crude classification and an unambiguous interpreta-

tion of the texts. It was not until she applied Buber's dynamic approach that she was able to perform a more nuanced interpretation of her material. Her detailed account of how this interpretation proceeded is very interesting to read. It may be worth mentioning that the title of her contribution, "Emotional Understanding: To Understand, Explain, and Understand Anew", precisely captures the quintessence of her article.

The two other articles in the first section are by two philosophers who are finishing their doctoral dissertations. The first is Camilla Kronqvist's article "The Significance of Emotions for Our Understanding of Ourselves and the World". She has a critical discussion of cognitive theories of emotion, whose common feature is their claim that emotions have a certain cognitive content. Kronqvist links her reasoning to a quotation from George Eliot's *Middlemarch* which concerns a quarrel between a husband and wife. I presume that this use of a down-to-earth quotation is envisaged as a concrete illustration to facilitate an understanding of her argument, which at times is high-level philosophy and can therefore be difficult to grasp for anyone who is not a philosopher.

The second article in the same section is by Ylva Gustavsson, also a philosopher. In "Body and Understanding" she argues that our emotions are physical and refers to a great many theorists, starting with works of William James from 1884 and 1910. Gustavsson applies not only an emotional but also a moral perspective on the significance of corporeality in our dealings with other people. She talks about how we convey emotions, nearness, and all manner of messages through the way we look at, listen to, and touch each other. Not least of all in the everyday life of a family, awareness of each other's bodily and sensory expressions tends to strengthen a moral and emotional affinity. Gustavsson's discussion, as I see it, is insightful and easy to comprehend. It is also valuable that she applies a broad perspective by letting the reader share various scholars' ideas on the theme of body and understanding.

The second section in the volume is entitled "Emotions and Reflections in Fieldwork". The first article, "Researching with Feeling", is by Kennet Granholm, whose subject is comparative religion. Based on his own experience, he discusses fieldwork from several different aspects. For instance, he considers old familiar concepts such as participant observation, insiders and outsiders, emic and etic, and – not least – objective and subjective. He argues that these concepts belong with an older attitude to fieldwork when the relationship between researcher and informant was different, more hierarchical. He proposes new concepts that are better adjusted to a new outlook on the concept of fieldwork and on humanistic research as a whole. Instead of participant observation he suggests calling it participation, instead of insiders and outsiders he suggests guestship. Besides indicating more equal relations between researchers and informants, these new designations have a great deal to do with ascribing greater value to the subjective aspects of both parties in fieldwork. This in turn is linked to an increased emphasis on reflection and self-reflection in the role of researcher, and respect for the informant's feelings and reactions. There is much more of value to be derived from Granholm's article, which can be recommended for both established and new fieldworkers.

The second article in the section about fieldwork is by Sofie Strandén, doctoral student in folkloristics. It is called "Family, Acquaintances, and Darned Woollen Socks: Thoughts about Trust in Folkloristic Interviews". There is a close-up focus on the interviews she has conducted with men and women who were active in one way or

another in the Winter War and the Continuation War in Finland 1939–1945. There is also a narrow geographical focus. All the informants grew up in Swedish-speaking Österbotten, which is also where the author grew up. This means that there are ties of kinship and friendship between the informants and the interviewer, or rather her parents and grandparents. There are thus rather specific background factors in this interview project. Her particular emphasis on the significance of trust in folkloristic interviews probably has to do with the fact that both she and the informants found it easy to establish the mutual trust that she considers to be essential for successful fieldwork. She also considers other aspects of interviewing, and it is pleasing to see that she refers to several Swedish ethnologists, such as Billy Ehn, Birgitta Meurling, Charlotte Hagström, Bo Nilsson, and Susanne Wollinger.

The third article is entitled "The Researcher's Emotions in the Research Process: On Changeable Categorizations in the Business and University Worlds". It is by Rebecka Karlsson, doctoral student in comparative religion. She begins with an account of the difficulties she had at the start of her work on her dissertation. Her task was to analyse, from the humanistic perspective of comparative religion, the great changeability that now prevails in the world of business. In her case it concerned the marine industry. Her first major problem was to adapt her identity as a scholar of religion to her research task. She has a rather drastic description of the confusion, uncertainty, and dejection she felt. These feelings led her to explore the problem of identity more deeply, which buttressed her view that identity is not a static and unambiguous phenomenon but a process of constant adaptation to other people's actions, changed circumstances, and new experiences. She forged many human contacts by creating her main material through interviews with people working in this company in the marine industry. In this way she gained insight into how the people felt about the great impermanence that characterized the business. In her attempts to interpret and understand her informants' emotions and reactions she was able to use her own experience of identity problems. The article is an interesting and original application of the theme of the volume.

The last article in the second section is by the folklorist Sven-Erik Klinkmann, entitled "An Emotional Voyage: The Jazz Pianist Alan Pasqua as a Research Object". I lack sufficient familiarity with the topic to do the article justice in a review, so I will abstain.

This brings me to the third section in the volume, "Emotions as a Research Object". A general observation here is that the writers have a narrow focus on a specific research object. The first article is a typical example of this, "Emotional Involvement, Humour, and Self-Irony in the Christian Metal Culture". The author is Marcus Moberg, whose subject is comparative religion. He gives a well-informed description of how this musical culture has a strongly religious and identity-creating function.

The second article, by the folklorist Lena Marander-Eklund, is called "Narratives and Emotions: The Revealing and the Concealed Laughter". Here she describes the many functions of laughter and discusses its links to corporeality. She cites interesting and sometimes surprising empirical examples, such as the function of laughter in connection with childbirth.

The third article in this section is by Christina Sandberg, doctoral student in folkloristics. The title is "'We Never Spoke about Her Dying': On How Emotions are Expressed in a Family's Narratives about Death". This is a poignant description of how a husband and children experience the sickness

and death of the wife and mother in the home.

The last article, "Emotions Depicted: Literary Representations of Mourning Processes", is by Siv Illman, associate professor of comparative religion. This analysis in terms of psychology of religion is extremely absorbing, with many quotations from literature. A detailed discussion of the interesting content would take too much space here, so I content myself with a warm recommendation that everyone should read and contemplate Illman's text.

I would also recommend the entire volume with all twelve articles. It has a great deal to offer scholars of culture. One of several good points is that the writers do not just being to different subject categories but are also at different levels in their research careers – from newly admitted doctoral students to professors. To repeat the choreographic symbolism, one could say that the performances of the dancers may seem more or less brilliant, but a beginner's enthusiasm is often a good match for the skill of a seasoned veteran.

As I now finish this review, it strikes me that my writing has perhaps to some extent followed the course that is described at several places in the book as a process from pre-understanding via explanation to increased understanding. In my case this would mean a movement from the speculations aroused by the title of the book to a reading of the articles and finally a – hopefully – increased understanding of the idea behind the book, manifested in my descriptions and judgements.

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Handbook of Qualitative Research
Jari Metsämuuronen (ed.): Laadullisen tutkimuksen käsikirja. International Methelp Ky., Jyväskylä 2006. 750 pp.

This extensive handbook, edited by Jari Metsämuuronen, focuses on hermeneutic methodology and is to be used as a primer on qualitative field research within human sciences – particularly education, sociology, psychology, the caring sciences, medicine and administrative science. It is intended for students and researchers who want an introduction to the strategies of information retrieval, material collection methods and analysis within qualitative research. The book also includes some sections of in-depth analysis and bibliographies. Although literature and examples of research from within the humanities are missing from the book, it is applicable also to those fields.

Since qualitative methodology was to some extent already being used within the humanities during the 19th century, but particularly from the early 20th century on, and early Finnish ethnographers were carrying out fieldwork among related peoples using soft methods as early as the beginning of the previous century, the idea of qualitative research within the social sciences being a new thing seems like a case of the emperor's new clothes. According to Metsämuuronen however, a shift has taken place from "old" quantitative research to "new" qualitative methodology, and this is certainly the case within social sciences and education.

The first main chapter consists of Jari Metsämuuronen's article on basic methodology in the human sciences in general. This is illuminating and useful reading also for humanists. Personally, I regard methodological information to be defined as those rules which are followed to transfer information from one level of abstraction to another: upwards to theories and downwards to the real world of phenomena; these rules aiming at systematizing, or producing, knowledge. The American anthropologist Pertti J. Pelto provides a concrete illustration of this by comparing the researcher to a squirrel, who effortlessly

moves up and down the ladder of information from induction through deduction to middle theory and sometimes even to general theory. His model has been called the *ladder model* of methodology.

In his book *The Interpretation of Cultures* (1973: 3–30), the interpretive anthropologist Clifford Geertz presents a philosophy for describing material, which resembles Pelto's ladder model. Geertz starts in the real world of things and events, moves to the inscription of the research object and on to the specification of the material, aiming finally at so-called thick description.

The definition of theory here might have been more exact, since theory can consist of many things, such as: 1) a framework, i.e. prior scientific discussion on the phenomenon studied; 2) a hypothesis, i.e. a scientific statement (or a changing working hypothesis); 3) a supported hypothesis; 4) a description of the mechanisms "behind" empirical observations or 5) a systematic and logical overall description of propo- sitions, i.e. supported hypotheses, pertaining to empirical reality.

Besides theory, Metsämuuronen defines the concept of the paradigm from two perspectives. As a humanist, I define paradigm as an image of reality, which 1) offers a solution – model A – which can be applied to situation B, and 2) is sufficiently concrete and 'functioning' as a description of that reality. 3) It is also extensive enough to absorb material from various levels, e.g. elements of general and specific theory. 4) A paradigm represents or covers only *part of* reality: there is no single scientific key that would fit all locks. 5) It does, however, provide tools for producing new knowledge. 6) It always produces results resembling itself and 7) eventually it exhausts its logical opportunities, when the paradigm then either shifts or is stored in the historical past. An equally useful term is *scientific school*, which is the currently dominant research approach or trend; that is, what the research community, or a majority of it, regards as 'normal science' at a given time in a given place; for example, evolutionism in the 19th century, or the schools of culture and personality in the early 20th century. Metsämuuronen describes the essential, basic difference between a qualitative and a quantitative approach: existentialist-phenomenological hermeneutics versus positivistic/post-positivistic philosophy of science.

The second main chapter, also written by the editor, "The Basics of Qualitative Research", is an interesting comparison of, among others, the lists of the contents of 23 Finnish books on qualitative research. Strategies for qualitative information retrieval are explored from the viewpoint of their underlying philosophies. Methods mentioned cover case studies, phenomenological research, ethnographic research, grounded theory, action research, discourse analysis and phenomenography. The extensive book does not, however, include such paradigms as semiotics; the historic, particularly oral historic paradigm; dialogue research, narratology; cognitive, or ecological, feminist and ethical paradigms. Methods for material collection, such as interviews, participatory observation and the study of background literature get the attention they deserve. Additional important methods for field projects within humanities are photography and video filming. One chapter is devoted to analysis of qualitative material, in which close reading of field material, contents analysis and computer aided analysis are presented. Attention is also paid to the reporting of qualitative material and to the combination of qualitative and quantitative material.

Juha Virtanen, who studies the relations between Zanzibarian young Muslims and a Christian youth centre, writes about phenomenology in qualitative research. His point of departure is the roots of phenomenological philosophy, Edmund Husserl's descriptive phe-

nomenology. According to this, the aim of knowledge is to describe the way in which the external world is constructed in the minds of people. Martin Heidegger, for his part, develops his hermeneutic phenomenology using the concept of situatedness, according to which understanding and interpretation gain their meaning through people's ways of being in the world. Lauri Rauhala is regarded as the creator of existential phenomenology; he has adapted features from the philosophers mentioned above. Virtanen next explores the points of departure and choices of methods within phenomenological research in detail, illustrating his presentation with examples. The writer finally discusses the reliability of phenomenological research, e.g. the question of how a researcher understands the impact of his or her own prior views on the results. Including the *phenomenology of religion* here would have illuminated the universal perspective of existential phenomenology in an important way (e.g. through Georg W. F. Hegel, Pierre D. Chantapie de la Saussaye, Gerardus van der Leeuw, Rudolf Otto, Mircea Eliade, Åke Hultkrantz, Lauri Honko etc.).

In the fourth main chapter, Kaisa Rantala presents the basics of ethnographical research. The starting point here is a social, cultural and contextual perspective on the research object. The opinions and experiences of the object are therefore important. Ethnographical research is traditionally connected with interpretive cultural anthropology. Multi-disciplinary ethnography is characterised by understanding. It is based on a holistic interpretation, of which the researcher creates an ethnographical thick description. The writer uses examples from her own ethnographical research, from its planning, points of departure, preparation, field work, material collection and analysis to the construction of a comprehensive overall view and evaluation of the reliability of the study.

In the fifth main chapter, Liisa Remes introduces the basics of discourse analysis. She elaborates on the three epistemological science traditions of discourse in a commendable way. According to the French tradition, discourses emerge as culture is formed: the researcher dresses ideology in the form of a story. In the German tradition, discourses are born through studying and influencing the nature of reality: it is a developing analysis. The Anglo-American tradition, for its part, claims that discourses appear in face-to-face discussions: the researcher is the analyser of the discussion. The writer also gives an overview of how rationalistic, empirical and pragmatic discourse analyses differ from each other concerning methods, material analysis and principles of interpretation. This article by Remes in many ways clarifies the multiple meanings and diffuse use of the discourse concept. The writer illustrates her presentation with examples from her own doctoral thesis (2003).

The basics of soft system methodology are interestingly dealt with in the sixth main chapter, written by Singa Sandelin-Benkö (d. 2006) and Jari Metsämuuronen, with quite a challenging level of abstraction. Systemic thinking is a way of approaching the complexity of reality. Systemicity is based on a number of principles: people attach meanings to their observations of the world. These meanings form their world view (*Weltanschauung*) which is based on individual empirical knowledge about the world. This world view leads to intentions that can be refined to intentional action in order to solve problematic situations. Intentional action is manifested in cycles, which can be described using systemic thinking. Soft system methodology describes the working processes of systems. The writers use prison as their example. Many different and equally valid models can be systematized for analyzing it. A prison can be regarded from the perspective of many world views. The task

of the prison can be to a) punish, b) rehabilitate, c) develop or d) function as a ”university” of crime. Soft system methodology has been widely applied especially within future research.

The seventh main chapter is called “Introduction to Computer-Aided Qualitative Research” and is written by Pentti Luoma, Timo P. Karjalainen and Kalle Reinikainen. The writers present the programme QSR Nvivo, which they know best and use most. The division into qualitative and quantitative methods is not as strict as has been assumed, since quantitative methods, such as discrimination analysis, have used qualitative methods; while some traditional qualitative methods, such as dialogue analysis, have, for their part, included quantitative elements.

The eighth chapter, “Quantitative Analysis of Small Material Sets,” is written by the editor. Strictly speaking, it does not actually belong in this book.

This handbook explains difficult terms as well as the backgrounds and research models of various methodologies/schools. Examples from studies illuminate the theories. Each main chapter ends with a bibliography and an index of subjects and persons. In addition, the book contains an overall bibliography and index of all the chapters. The book would have needed language editing to rid it of an unnecessarily complicated style of writing. Printing mistakes will hopefully be corrected in future editions. The writers are all top experts in their fields.

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Dressed for *dawa* Young Women in the Islamic Movement in Sweden

Pia Karlsson Minganti: Muslima. Islamisk väckelse och unga muslimska kvinnors förhandlingar om genus i det samtida Sverige. Stockholm, Carlssons Bokförlag 2007. 336 pp. English summary. Diss.

In Pia Karlsson Minganti’s well-written book *Muslima* we meet nine young women who are all members of Swedish *sunni* youth groups that might be placed among the “moderate islamists”. The organisations aim to spread information about Islam, work for the right of Muslims to live as practising Muslims in a secular/Christian society, as well as encourage young Muslims to live a more religious life. This is referred to as practising *dawa*.

The title of the book: *Muslima* (Arabic feminine singular) points to the international movement that the women belong to. The subtitle: *Islamic revival and young Muslim women’s negotiation of gender in today’s Sweden* puts the gender perspective in focus. The book asks: What are the possibilities the women have and what are the limits they operate within? How do the women act as individuals; in a religious group and as members of a religious minority? In linking these questions to the Islamic revival the book analyzes how young women become social actors using a certain interpretation of Islam as their tool. Several books or articles have asked similar questions as *Muslima*. What makes this book special is in my opinion the complexity of the answers offered, and the rich empirical data of quotes from women. The Islamic revival movement is commonly connected to the political agenda of its members. In this book the idea of *islamizing* oneself is also seen as a personal project of devout women battling their egos. In this way the book challenges the often simplified images of Islam and Muslim women.

Muslima places itself within the category of gender-studies. The book uses post-colonial theory and focuses on powers structures and ideas of patriarchy, both within the family and in the re-

ligious community. To understand the kind of patriarchy the women encounter, Minganti introduces the concepts of *fitna* (chaos caused by the presence of sexual temptation, often linked to women) and *honour and shame* (a set of ideas where men's honour are linked to the behaviour of the women). The book focuses on *resistance* to hierarchical ideas and discusses how on a less conscious level, norms of male dominance are also accepted. The author stress how acts of *acceptance and submission* must also be seen as parts of her informants' repertoire.

The empirical data of the book was collected from 1998 to 2002, when the women were 18–28 years old. Longer interviews, with each women twice or up to five times were carried out. Participant observation also took place; both within and outside of specific religious settings. The women were also visited at home; some were followed on visits to their families' home countries. The women's families came from different parts of the Muslim world, but they themselves had all grown up in Sweden. Differences between the women become clear, though some readers will probably miss a discussion linking differences to different types of background or current orientation. In spite of the interview- and observation-based methodology, we do not "get to know" nine women or their local youth groups, but we are presented with thorough discussions of different theoretical concepts relevant for a better understanding of Muslim gender negotiations. This makes the book no "easy-read", but its clear structure and fascinating data balances this. We meet women who had all joined the Islamic movement after what they themselves call a period of crises. They tell about the strain of being a Muslim in Sweden where they constantly meet critical questions about Islam. Problems in relations to the family and ethnical group are also held forward, and the women criticise what they see as unfair. They have found a release to strained relations and pressures in religion. This involved seeking out a new environment where the faith could be constantly strengthened. In the Islamic movement they met a new kind of Islam, talked about as "true Islam, not mixed with culture".

Karlsson Minganti highlights three different roles that the women in her study play: the *fighter, the modest one* and *the protected one*. In my opinion this is a useful model that helps giving a nuanced image of the women in question. The roles are related to different spheres of female activity; participation in the mosques and youth groups, family life and public appearance.

Firstly, the women saw themselves as fighters and activists who fight for Islam. At times this involved fighting against traditional values which they themselves did not see as "true Islam". An example was their attitude to the mosques. They had met with ideas that traditionally exclude them all together from this religious domain: ideas that they are too shy for public spaces and that their sexuality might bring *fitna* (chaos) and disturb men in their prayers. The women did not accept this view, wanting the mosque to be a two-gendered space. They further rejected the idea of being the sole possible carriers of *fitna*, stressing how they rather may be seen as honourable representatives of Islam.

The author found that the women showed resistance to being excluded. At the same time they accepted gender segregation as a norm. During the fieldwork the Swedish "Gender equality council" received a formal complaint from a Member of Parliament accusing a mosque in Stockholm of discrimination against women because of gender segregation. The Muslim women's organisations reacted by writing a public letter defending segregation as something they choose to respect as part of their own traditions. In writing the letter the

women gained prestige amongst the men, as they stood up and defended the religion. Karlsson Minganti uses this event to show the complexity of gender-negotiations: on the one hand the fighting women gain status. They might become symbols of "correct" Islam, as they publicly defend the known (segregation) system. At the same time it illustrates how the women might be caught in a structure. Having stated that they defend gender segregation the author asks whether the women actually had a choice in this matter. Were there any alternatives possible?

The second role highlighted was *the protected one*. This role was connected ideas about the family. As an ideal women should not move about without a male protector from her family, a *mahram*. All the women accepted this principle, though it was not always adhered to. The need for a *mahram* was again connected to a view of the world as a dangerous place, where bad things can happen and rumours can be connected to a woman who moves around on her own. Gossip about women is again linked to the status and honour of the men of the family. Consequently women should stay at home as much as possible. Exceptions are education and work. The women in this study still expressed a need for a larger community where they could learn about "true Islam" and act out *dawa*. But in order to go along to Islamic meetings they were still dependent on male relatives acting as *mahrams*. The author terms the solution the women found *tactical orthodoxy*: they accept the rules of *mahram*, but in return they expected the men to do their "bit". Everything concerning Islam and *dawa* was important; hence the men should accompany them. If they would not, the women would sometimes go on their own. If men failed to do their duty, the women would redefine power, and give themselves the freedom of someone called for *dawa*.

The collected data still shows the traditional cultural practise of women as daughters/wives/mothers staying at home to be strong. As *protected ones* these women are obliged to be obedient. The *honour* of the men is connected to the absence of any possible *shame* connected to the women. As social actors the women stressed how by being obedient to the family they were fulfilling a female virtue. Refusing to see themselves as "passive" or "caught in a family trap" they rather celebrated their renunciations of the world around as religious merits. They constantly worked on changing family patterns. But as Krlsson Minganti comments: in this picture the *dawa* is a volunteer activity, while obedience is obligatory.

The third role highlighted is *the modest one*. This role is discussed by looking at the Islamic *hijab*. The author manages in my view to make an interesting discussion of this often-debated subject as she underlines the complexity of this religious and cultural practice.

With the headscarf the women won prestige within the community. They saw themselves as ambassadors for Islam, being visible in a society not always positive to their religion. Refusing to be labelled "of less value" and risking not getting work they opposed the non-Muslim culture by showing pride in their religion. The author stresses how the wearing of *hijab* is a part of private religious modesty. Working at being modest was a clear religious goal for all the women. The *hijab* was also linked to a collective organization of sexuality: men and women are clearly set apart and the *hijab* is the sign that the women are well aware of decency in sexual matters. A woman in *hijab* is thought to be less sexually attractive. *Dressed for dawa* she protects both the men and herself.

Like the *mahram* the *hijab* should work to protect the women. In this respect there is a double sidedness: even if the *hijab* may be seen as a choice that

gives freedom, it also reproduces patriarchal norms. Without the *hijab*, as without the *mahram*, some families will attach suspicion of shame to women. In this way the *hijab* may also be seen as a part of a discourse where women reproduce the code of honour and shame. In a nuanced way Karlsson Minganti balances this interpretation with stressing the agency, or feeling of agency, that the headgear actually gives women.

The author also discusses the face-veil, *niqab*. These types of veils were present in the women's environment, though not worn by the women themselves. Still, in the interviews all the women expressed their admiration for those wearing *niqab*. They took it for granted that the women had chosen to wear it themselves (otherwise it would have no religious value). It was clear to them that these women were Muslims really fighting their egos. Their submission to God's will was total, even if they suffered discrimination and rejection in society. The most important was how they were willing to "become no-one", unrecognizable by others in their striving to meet God. This was only possible if you had a strong faith, the women explained. I find it interesting how the women see the *niqab* as a sign of inner faith and willingness to suffer in society. General outsider views have rather seen the attire (when worn in the West) as a rejection of Western society or as a total submission to male leaders/family member.

In her conclusion Pia Karlsson Minganti presents what she herself calls *a pessimistic interpretation*. She points to the fact that the women have experienced emancipation, but still take part in practises that reproduce patriarchal norms. She underlines how the women in the Islamic movement are still dependent on men. The men are supposed to represent them, but with lack of contact between the sexes, the men hardly know how the world "looks like" from a female point of view. In the last sections the author still underlines how the women may be seen as pious subjects with agendas of their own. They stress equality between genders and negotiate gender roles so they may become line with in what they themselves see as "true Islam". She also states how submission may be seen as an act of agency: with a religious interpretation submission is to trust in God even if things may not yet be perfect. The women saw it as a female duty to foster within themselves the will to submit. In this way they were never "victims" of men's power, but pious women striving in the way of God. To them freedom to do whatever they might want was never a goal. Their aim was rather being all the time conscious about God's will.

Muslima is a book that gives an image of a certain period (turn of the millennium) and how a certain issue (gender-negotiations) was handled. In my opinion the book gives important comparative material for researchers with empirical data from other countries and maybe also other periods. I will recommend the book to those who study gender and who are interested in religion as well as those who study religion/Islam and are interested in gender issues. The book might also be an important background for a follow-up study: How do young Muslim men see these gender negotiations, do they want to reproduce old traditions or do they want to move into new ways of organizing thing? To these questions *Muslima* gives no answers, but the book makes us curious.

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Leisure, Kinship and Sibling Relations

Familjekoordinater. Etnologiska analyser av fritid, släkt och syskonskap. Ole

Rud Nielsen et al. Åbo Akademi, rapport nr 11, Åbo 2006. 180 pp. Ill.

The anthology *Family Coordinates* contains three articles in Swedish and one in Danish. The first one, by Ole Rud Nielsen, is a result of research in the Archipelago Sea between Åbo and the Åland Islands. With good pedagogical intentions, he has translated words which can have different meanings in Danish and Swedish. For example, his article "Lystsejlads" is an analysis of what in Swedish is called "båtturism" or pleasure boating.

Ole Rud Nielsen studies yachting in relation to the modern nuclear family. This is a synchronic analysis of the yachters' constructivist relation to the cultural environment, with the focus on how they use the physical environment as something meaningful for the family unit. Neither crews of yachting races nor family crews who participate in squadrons are included in this study. The theory of transitions is applied to family crews who navigate in the archipelago by themselves during their summer holiday. Common for them all are their experiences of yachting as a cultural contrast to their work and urban life. None of the informants come from other parts of the countryside in Finland, but a few are from cities in Sweden and Germany. The author does not discuss social positions or class issues, and the reader never finds out whether the families have invested in new yachts or if they are several years old. With the focus on familism, some remarks about the family economy would have been interesting. What kind of sacrifices, if any, have the families made to achieve their holiday dream? The statement of the author, that these yachts are like floating summer cottages, is in my view uncontroversial. Even if the area is small, the domestic equipment is necessary for the family crew's comfort. Ole Rud Nielsen has observed that mostly the mothers have responsibility for duties in the cabins, and it is also the women who describe the sailing as a united family holiday, more than their husbands. The fathers, the captains of the yachts, often speak about the combination of sailing and family life. The fieldwork was done in several harbours in the archipelago during the summer of 1997. If the study had also included some city harbours in the spring or the autumn the researcher would have noticed the male talk, when the holiday captains exchange last summer's experiences and future dreams surrounded by paint and boat polish. I would like to encourage Ole Rud Nielsen, and other ethnologists with an interest in the field, to go further in their investigations of yachting with perspectives on gender, class and identity. This is an interesting field for ethnological research, and Ole Rud Nielsen's contribution is important with references to familism and maritime environment.

When Susanne Lindholm interviews persons aged 10–80 about their apprehensions of kinship they draw mind maps. She investigates the informants' knowledge with reference to a "blood and contact model". Some of the older ones do not know so much about previous generations and the younger people show more interest than she had expected. The desire to learn more about relatives usually increases when couples have their first child. Susanne Lindholm can also emphasize that existing kinship relations mean solidarity, security and togetherness.

Sibling relations are the theme of the study by Christina Haldin. She compares informants who have been brought up in original families with those from new families. In a new family at least one parent has a child with someone who belongs to another household. It is obvious that sibling relations can vary. But if the siblings have shared everyday life in the new family's homes, are of the same age and of the same sex, they can develop close relationships as adults, in

comparison with siblings from original families. Nowadays relations between parent and child can be more stable over time than between parents. Christina Haldin explores interesting angles on the qualitative dimensions of sibling relations.

Laura Aalto considers that family travelling can be a short trip to a summer cottage, as well as long-distance flights to foreign countries. Her analysis is mostly based on archive material from people who answered a questionnaire about leisure and holidays in 1998. From these parents' perspectives all kinds of travel have positive influences on family solidarity.

The merit of this anthology is the emphasis on family and kinship issues *nowadays*. Its lacks a concern with social positions, which to some extent reduces the reader's interpretations of yachting family crews, as well as comprehensions of kinship, sibling relations and family travel. The greatest value of this book, in my opinion, lies in its highlighting of the family research field within ethnology. I am sure the articles can give students and researchers inspiration for further studies of new families, kinships and family holidays.

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Blasphemy, Popular Culture, and Individual Strategies

Soili-Maria Olli: Visioner av världen: Hädelse och djävulspakt i justitierevisionen 1680–1789. (Skrifter från Institutionen för historiska studier 17). Umeå, Umeå universitet 2007. i-vi, 194 pp.

The author's aim with this dissertation is not primarily to consider accusations of blasphemy and pacts with the devil from the point of view of legal history, but rather to illuminate how groups and individuals have related to religion, especially the extent to which the statements, actions, and attitudes of the accused may reflect popular attitudes which differed from or agreed with those of the authorities. The dissertation is oriented towards the history of mentalities, examining whether popular attitudes could be expressions of either a collective mentality or the subjective world-views of individuals.

The author thus proceeds from the familiar discussion of the relationship between so-called elite culture and popular culture in the early modern period. But the intention now is not to consider the mutual relations of the cultural levels from a conflict perspective and regard them as each other's opposites, but to analyse them and the attitudes they expressed as part of the same overall world-view. The conceptual pair of elite culture and popular culture appears more than anything to be a methodological tool for the author. The question of how people at an individual level have related to religion is analysed with the aid of Pierre Bourdieu's theory of habitus, and its proposition that every individual has a system of socially acquired dispositions which determine how he or she acts, thinks, and evaluates in specific social contexts. The author thereby believes that it is possible to arrive at another familiar figure in research, namely, the relationship between actor and structure. In the dissertation there are also some very distinct observations about the sex of the accused, and therefore gender theory is applied to parts of the study.

The dissertation is arranged in seven chapters. The introduction is followed by yet another introductory chapter dealing with definitions and categorizations in more detail. The author's classifications of the different kinds of blasphemy that occur in the Supreme Court largely correspond to the contemporary categories: (1) blasphemy

against God, (2) blasphemy and abuse of the sacraments, (3) pacts with the devil, (4) other blasphemies such as alleged possession. The study comprises more than a hundred cases, just under half of which concerned the first group. Pacts with the devil were also numerous, accounting for roughly a quarter of the cases.

The third chapter is devoted to the judicial treatment of blasphemy in the Supreme Court (at this time known as *Justitierevisionen*). We are told here who acted as informants and how the state's system of control and disciplining functioned. The punishments are also examined. The author looks at the social affiliation of the accused, their occupation, and sex. More than ninety per cent of the accused were men. Among these, about half were persons with military connections. In cases of pacts with the devil, all the accused were men. The individuals reporting the alleged offences were not often from the common people; not surprisingly, priests and officers were more active in that role. When it comes to the punishment of blasphemy, the author underlines the tendency to mitigated sentences during the period. Only about ten people were finally executed. The executions were concentrated in the period before the mid-eighteenth century. Most of the death sentences were commuted to lesser punishments such as running the gauntlet, whipping, imprisonment, banishment, and forced labour.

In the fourth chapter Olli comes to her core questions, presenting a model for varying popular attitudes to religion. The model is based on evidence for the effect that "Christianization" appears to have had among people. According to the author, it is possible to distinguish four different mental strata as regards Christianization. The first three range from a group that expresses views that largely coincide with the official doctrine, via an intermediate group, to the third, which includes people whose views differed radically from those of the authorities. The fourth group contains individuals who were indifferent to Christianity without being atheists in the modern sense of the word. We thus have a set of attitudes which display varying popular attitudes to religion. There is also a study of Christian ideas and how they have served as shared interfaces. These are ideas about God, about the devil, about holy communion, and about salvation and life after death, which are all found in the source material, and which could give rise to both similar and dissimilar attitudes within the elite culture and the popular culture.

The fifth chapter deals with blasphemy as a folkloristic protest genre. The author begins by discussing concepts such as mentality, strategy, and world-view, which she uses for a later analysis of religious perceptions. When it comes to blasphemy as protest, Olli stresses that this interpretation in most cases is inadequate as an explanation of the blasphemies, which did not express individual protests at all. Moreover, some blasphemies were expressions of a collective blasphemy tradition. Blasphemies expressed within this tradition – for example profaning and replacing religious expressions during service – need not express deliberate provocations; what was said was significant in relation to the religious strategies that are chiefly analysed in the chapter. Olli discusses via literature the individualization of religion and the occurrence of a religious culture. At the start of the eighteenth century there was an individualization process which meant that each person was expected to adopt a personal attitude to religious matters. This tendency has mostly been studied in connection with the emergence of the revival movement. This development, however, began when the authorities during the eighteenth century made increasingly strict demands of the individual to display his or her faith. In contrast to this development, however, there is

also an individual faith which did not arise solely as a response to the authorities' increased demands for personal devotion. This personal faith could exist within the popular culture as alternative world-views. This is also the theme of the continuation of the chapter. The world-view was human-centred, holistic, situational, and selective in such a way that it permitted a large measure of individual adaptations of a strategic nature. Men in particular seem to have developed strategies in relation to the discourse about the devil. Usually the attempts to contact the devil were serious and carefully prepared, although they were related to acute crises. The aim of the pacts was usually to acquire money or to become hard enough to withstand shots.

In the sixth chapter the question of male and female strategies continues to occupy the author. Blasphemy was a male crime, to put it mildly. In international research there has been talk of a male culture of blasphemy connected to a broader context of aggressive rites and offences. The social settings in which blasphemy occurred were significant for which types of strategies were used. The contexts were of two kinds: a peasant environment and a military one. Olli discusses blasphemy from a gender perspective but finds that Bourdieu's habitus theory and individual strategies have a better explanatory value.

The seventh and last chapter sums up the dissertation. One of the most important findings is that the popular culture cannot be regarded as a uniform mass that was in opposition to the elite culture. More than that, it was not passive either; the majority of the acts and utterances condemned as blasphemy can be interpreted as pure strategies. Mentalities are often described as impersonal thought-complexes. Both in the learned elite and in the popular culture, impersonal thoughts of this type, based on some kind of impersonal common psyche, did occur. When the elite displayed a collective thought-complex, their actions can be interpreted as a strategy. The authorities' collective mentality mostly consisted of clear ideas with explicitly formulated purposes and applications. The attitudes and actions of the peasantry that can be regarded as expressions of a collective mentality, in contrast, can scarcely be viewed as strategies. Instead, ideas based on the collective mentalities that existed in the peasant community can be seen as expressions of a blasphemy tradition, a culture of laughter, or a sort of folkloristic genre, especially among soldiers, with blasphemous speech as a way of handling incomprehensible religious dogmas. Traces of this can also be found in the author's source material, although most of the attitudes that emerge, both those of the state/church and those of the common people, can be regarded as definitely being strategies.

Although the dissertation claims to be qualitative in its methods, there are statements of a quantifying nature throughout. In actual fact, the main results of the book seem to build on a quantification based on the state of affairs in the Supreme Court, namely, that a majority of the blasphemies were expressions of individual strategies and not of an impersonal collective mentality in the popular culture. The question of the occurrence of blasphemy cases in courts at different levels in the judicial system is thus significant for the theses propounded by the author, if the findings are to be generalizable. There is a possibility that blasphemy with a certain content may have been systematically withheld from the Supreme Court, which is important for the image of popular religion that emerges. One possibility is that indirect blasphemy (of creation, the Lutheran doctrine, church services, prayers, the clergy, the organization of the church, etc.) was not prosecuted to the same extent as direct blasphemy of God. Another is that sacrilege, the abuse of sacred objects, was

not prosecuted. A third concerns the blasphemers more than the blasphemies, the fact that younger persons' offences were not brought to the Supreme Court. I am thinking primarily of schoolboys who made pacts with the devil.

Olli makes the general statement that blasphemy seems to have been rarely prosecuted compared to other similar crimes, such as sexual offences, witchcraft, and magic. Yet it would not have very difficult to investigate this in more detail, in both the Svea and Göta High Courts. Blasphemy was a much more common crime than one might believe, as shown by a quick examination I made. If we look at cases that never reached the Supreme Court, we see that they often concerned indirect blasphemy and blasphemous acts. Here one can perhaps expect to find precisely the type of collective blasphemy tradition that Olli thinks was outnumbered by the deliberate strategies. Moreover, an examination of cases of pacts with the devil tried in Göta High Court shows that age was crucial in determining which cases went all the way up to the Supreme Court; young offenders never went so far, and death sentences were not even contemplated for them.

The author's thesis about the relationship between impersonal mentalities and individual strategies, however, can be challenged even if we ignore the broader context of blasphemy in the lower courts. The two categories of blasphemy of God and abuse of the sacraments seem to be more genuine as examples of blasphemy, whereas pacts with the devil and alleged possession do not seem to have had quite the same character. By failing to stick to her own categorization as an analytical tool, the author may have missed the opportunity to establish certain types of patterns. It is among the first two that one ought to be able to find expressions of an older collective culture of blasphemy, while the latter two could possibly be regarded as newcomers on the scene. Pacts with the devil, at least, were associated with a learned written culture. In addition, one can argue that the strategic character of pacts with the devil is exaggerated. Even if they arose in crisis situations, and thus had the specific purpose of bringing money or good fortune, one is justified in claiming that the actual narrative complex included what in retrospect seem like individual motives. They are rather reminiscent of a witchcraft sequence which involved both an alleged injury and a conflict with a person capable of malicious magic, where one element, so to speak, presupposes the other.

Soili-Maria Olli's dissertation deals with an important and hitherto little studied phenomenon in the early modern history of Sweden. The aim to cover both the history of the crime of blasphemy and the history of popular religion is ambitious, but it has led to the weak sides of the dissertation. It is unclear in its arrangement, which is reinforced by a manner of presentation which is too dominated by other research; her own source material could well have been more systematically treated and presented with more emphasis. Moreover, she could have considered an arrangement that allowed the study of other supplementary sources and archives. Unfortunately, there is also an unnecessary amount of carelessness and outright errors. On the plus side, the author has revived important questions concerning the history of mentalities. Although this dissertation has not given us a complete history of blasphemy, at least we now have a history of blasphemers.

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The Production of Memory

Owe Ronström & Ulf Palmenfelt (eds.): Memories and Visions. (Studies in Folk Culture. Vol. IV). Department of Eston-

ian and Comparative Folklore, Department of Ethnology. Tartu University Press 2005. 175 pp. Ill.

The publication is a co-operation between a group of folklorists from Sweden, Finland, Estonia and Lithuania, and it presents a set of different studies on production or construction of memory. Memories are analysed in the form of for example monuments, pictures, diaries and other forms of narrative.

In the introduction Owe Ronström explains the connection between memories and visions. In the anthology memories are seen as "products of social processes by which the past or the otherwise absent is represented in the present, for purposes in the future, by the use of culturally bounded expressive forms". Visions, on the other hand, can be seen as "memories that have not yet happened". The common theme for all the articles is that things past are (re-)produced in the present for reasons that in some sense are still to come.

The first part of the anthology concentrates on memories in the form of autobiographical material, while the latter part revolves around memories in the form of heritage, tradition and images. The first article is a contribution by Anne Heimo. She begins her article by discussing the use of autobiographical material as material for folkloristic research.

Heimo has herself used the private archive and library of one Finnish family, the Lietzéns, consisting of letters, notebooks, calendars and diaries. Using that material she has examined the family's memories of the Finnish Civil War. Heimo is pointing out that the written memoirs of Fredrik Lietzén is a result of choosing what to remember and what not to, resulting in a version of the events that the writer wants to be remembered. Further she describes how the memories, which she sees as constructions, have been used by others in the telling of what happened in Sammatti during the war, thus forming an official history.

Autobiographical material is used also by Ene Kõresaar, who is focusing on two Estonian post-Soviet life stories. Kõresaar starts off with a presentation of how the Soviet as well as the post-Soviet national approach to history treat the key periods in recent Estonian history, that is the pre-World War II Republic of Estonia and the 1940s. After the decay of the Soviet Union in the late 80s a process of "giving back the history to the people" emerged in Estonia, focusing on events that had been repressed or biased in the Soviet discourse of history.

Kõresaar has analysed and compared two autobiographies written by Estonians born in the 1920s. One of them represents the kind of life story that is more common in post-Soviet Estonia, following the interpretation patterns of the dominant national history treatment; hence Kõresaar calls it "national biography". The other one, the "Soviet biography", is rarer and utilizes the narrative templates intrinsic of the official Soviet discourse of history. Kõressaar points out that the focal point of the "national biography" is the discontinuance and decline of harmonic national development, due to the Soviet occupation of Estonia, thus seeing the pre-occupation period as the ideal national society. The "Soviet biography" in its turn stresses the Soviet ideology, process-through-work and the working class as a leading power in world history. Both life stories are focusing on the events of the 1940s as the most important turning point in Estonian history, but are interpreting them in quite different ways. This article thus shows us how life stories from the same period can differ due to the different politics of experience.

The article of Owe Ronström is dealing with heritage production in Gotland. Ronström claims that new types of pasts have been staged, by new types of people, for new types of markets, thus

creating the brand “The Hanseatic town of Visby”, a world heritage site and one of Sweden’s most post-modern cities. He is focusing upon how global structures as “World Heritage” is being used on a local level as resources in a struggle for power and influence. Ronström is pointing out that many mindscapes are coexisting in Gotland – stressing the “land of sagas and tradition”, beaches and tourism activities, student life or the “party-town”. Some of those are co-operating, while others compete over the same niche. As an example Ronström mentions the mindscapes of “the Old Peasant Society”, which is centered to an outdoor ethnographic museum in Bunge, and “The Hanseatic Town of Visby”. Both of these mindscapes are produced from things past, but as Ronström points out they represent two different kinds of producing, tradition and heritage.

The difference between tradition and heritage has been dealt with in many publications. Ronström is approaching this theme from a local point of view, by discussing the local understandings of the words in Swedish and what they mean in Gotlandic context. He claims there has been a shift from tradition towards heritage, which reflects an urbanization of publicly displayed cultural representations of Gotland. This development has to do with a new type of professionals who have moved to Visby from the 1970s and not being able to claim themselves “genuine Gotlanders”, staged new forms of cultural representations that they could be in the centre of. Ronström comes to the conclusion that heritage reinforces the commodification of memories and above all is a way of exercising power.

Visby is the starting point also for Carina Johansson’s article, in which she combines visual culture with a folkloristic approach. She examines how people deal with visual representations and relate them to their own lives. She has been discussing the photographs of a Visby tourist brochure with three persons, non-tourists, analysing how they talk about the pictures. She could identify three different strategies for using the photos – comparing them with private mental images, putting the brochure away or analysing the photos as a mass medium. Johansson claims that these strategies can tell us something about the formation of identities, memories and visions in a late-modern world. Common for all three was that the informants' own Visby pictures of everyday life did not correspond to the tourist pictures, and that they clearly see themselves from outside the tourist sphere. What I still would have wanted to know, is whether doing more interviews would have revealed more strategies for using the photos or proved one of the strategies more common amongst non-tourists in Visby.

Lina Bugiene's article deals with cultural discourse in Lithuania, mainly concerning Lithuanian identity. The writer has studied a Lithuanian cultural magazine and noticed that a lot of items are dealing with questions of national identity from a Scandinavia-oriented perspective. She is comparing that intellectual present day approach with historical and local legends about the mythic Swedes. Bugienes suggests that the old legends as well as modern day myths inspired by Internet and media discussions could be utilized for history and identity construction. The Lithuanian identity is being constructed through contrasting and comparison to “the others”.

The closing article, by Tellervo Aarnipuu, deals with the construction of promotional images of the past in Turku. The town of Turku has a nationally glorious past that – together with material image resources – can be used as an asset in the current image construction. Aarnipuu is focusing on the town’s two oldest survived material image resources, the castle and the cathedral, describing their restoration processes. In contrast to the visible monuments of the

past, the past is also invisibly present in Turku, as remnants hidden below street level. Although the medieval past is partly hidden in the town centre, it has become the era that represents the promotional concept of Old Turku, visualized for example by the annual Medieval Days. Further Aarnipuu is looking at Turku's membership in "The Hanseatic League of Modern Times" and the hosting of the Hanseatic Days in 2004 as a part of the town's image construction. Aarnipuu concludes the article by noting that at both the restoration sites as well as in the cultural events "the very abstract notion of time is being framed in order to communicate the chosen messages to the people, locals and visitors alike, who take an interest in the space or the event." The past is thus being used for future purposes, as part of a vision.

As can be seen, the anthology consists of quite different views to the theme of memories and visions, showing how, as Ronström puts it: "memories fuel visions and visions rely on memories." One of its virtues is the international approach, presenting examples of memory production in different countries.

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Charms and Charming

Jonathan Roper (ed.): Charms and Charming in Europe. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, New York. Palgrave Macmillan 2004. 233 pp.

Jonathan Roper: English Verbal Charms. FF Communications no. 288. Helsinki. Suomalainen tiedeakatemia. Academia Scientiarum Fennica 2005. 241 pp.

"Charms form some of the most interesting elements of both oral and literate traditional culture." This statement is signed by the folklorist Jonathan Roper, in the introduction to the book *Charms and Charming in Europe* from 2004, which Roper has edited. He goes on to point out that, despite this, little research has been done in this field in the last few decades. The main aim of the book is thus given: to focus on this fascinating topic and, hopefully, to open the field for new research. The intention behind the book is certainly timely, and the authors deserve praise for the work they have done in putting this topic on the agenda again.

The book can be read along several lines. Firstly, it provides a thorough introduction to different approaches and perspectives in the study of charms and charming and can thus function as an introduction to the topic and the source material for scholars who have not previously dealt with the field. For more experienced readers in the field, the book gives insight into national characteristics in sources and European variations. In thematic and structural terms this is also how the book seems to be arranged; the first part tackles "key topics in charms and charming" while the second part sets about "elucidating the features of national corpora".

The first part of the book begins with "The Transmission of Charms in English, Medieval and Modern" by T. M. Smallwood, who discusses the written transmission of charms. Based on local sources from England, Smallwood shows how and to what extent charms were transmitted in different historical periods, and how our processual understanding of this transmission is dependent on the available sources.

The next article is entitled "On the Christianity of Incantations", and here David Gay discusses popular religious aspects of charms and charming. Gay begins by discussing the fact that previous research on charms has often interpreted these ideas and texts as religious folklore which did not belong to the official Christianity because the church itself condemned the tradition as not

belonging to it. Theories that the tradition is of pagan origin or is an expression of syncretistic processes make less sense when it is primarily in the Christian context that we find the tradition. Moreover, Gay claims that it is precisely the church's conversion of older popular beliefs and the development of demonology that helped to create a need for charms which became a part of people's Christian faith and rituals.

Henni Ilomäki's article "The Self of Charm" problematizes the meaning of the pronoun "I" in charm texts. In an analysis of Finnish and Karelian sources she discusses the relationship between the material recorded by collectors and how this material was actually used in the ritual treatment situation. Iiomäki regards charming as a form of communicative actions. She points out that the "self" of a charm is more abstract than a person and semantically more concrete that an empty word. The "I" is only realized in the treatment situation, she claims, where the self becomes an oral element that the healer uses based on the faith that the healer has in his or her own powers, whereas the "I" in the written text is an empty verbal unit. The article thus shows how important it is to study charms in the light of their context: the use situation.

In "Charms in Medieval Memory" Lea Olsan identifies semantic motifs in two types of sources: a "popular" source from England and a "professional" Latin one. The starting point for the study is the question whether people in the Middle Ages who knew healing charms remembered which charms they ought to use for which complaint. By studying the two source texts, she identifies certain key meanings in the charms. She calls these semantic motifs, and she shows that the texts have a regular occurrence of a limited number of such motifs.

The second part of the book, which deals with national traditions, begins with an article by Owen Davies about "French Charmers and Their Healing Charms", where he studies the content, structure and typology of French charms. The next article takes us to Russia. W. F. Ryan's article, "Eclecticism in the Russian Charm Tradition", studies the transmission of charms in Russian tradition, how certain saints appear in connection with the healing of certain ailments or conditions, with parallels to the Russian charms from all over Europe.

The next article is by the editor of the book, the British folklorist Jonathan Roper. In "Typologising English Charms" he presents the fruits of the work that was published one year later in his doctoral dissertation, *English Verbal Charms*. There he presents his own newly produced database of more than 500 charms, typologically categorized and sorted, and undertakes a genre study of English-language verbal charms in England. In this collection of articles he directs the searchlight at how the European charm material has been sorted and presented in the history of research, and he argues for the need to compile an international index of European charms categorized according to types.

Typology is also the topic of the next article in the book, "Towards a Typology of Romanian Love-charms", by Sanda Golopentia. The aim of her work is to carry on previous research and work out a typology for Romanian love-charms, which represent a wide range of types. As the overall principle for the organization of the typology, she uses the aim of the charm and the accompanying actions, and this leads on to an identification of roles and episodic structures.

The only article in the book which is pure research history is represented by Ulrika Wolf-Knuts in her account of the fieldwork done by the Finland-Swedish folklore collector and scholar Valter Forsblom and his edition of *Folktro och trolldom: Magisk folkmedicin* ("Folk Belief and Witchcraft: Magical Folk

Medicine") from 1927. In "Swedish Finn Incantations: Valter W. Forsblom on Charms and Charming" she gives the reader insight into his voluminous collection of charms and how he himself reflected on this material. Wolf-Knuts concludes that, even if one can interpret Forsblom as a man of his time, as regards both the theoretical and methodological perspectives he applies, he was also reflexive, critical, and able to problematize both the material and his own methods.

The book ends with the article "Evil Eye in Hungary: Belief, Ritual, Incantation" by Éva Pócs. This starts with a presentation of the beliefs and rituals that can be associated with the evil eye in Hungary, revealing the connection of the charms to both the diagnostic and the healing processes. She describes significant differences between the charm tradition in Southern and Eastern Europe on the one hand and that of Western and Central Europe on the other. The differences include oral versus written transmission of charms. Hungary, she points out, is on the boundary between these modes of transmission.

The variation in the topics considered by the book makes it extremely useful. The reader is presented with a wide range of perspectives and problems that are not just of theoretical and methodological value, but also illuminate the potential that lies in the sources for studies of religiosity, magic and witchcraft, beliefs, transmission, orality and literacy, research history, narrativity, and typology, to name but a few. In other words: core themes in folkloristics and cultural history.

Two more conferences have been held on the subject of Charms and Charming in Europe since the first one that resulted in this book. The second was held in 2005 and the third in 2007. A new collection of articles, based on the 2005 conference, is soon to be published, on the theme of *Charms, Charmers and Charming*. In addition, a new network has been established, The ISFNR Committee for Charms, Charmers and Charming, which is under the International Society for Folk Narrative Research. The increased activity in publishing and networking is highly promising for future research and activity in this field. Hopefully this will attract new researchers who will apply new perspectives and thus achieve increasingly profound insight and understanding as regards this fascinating material. One can only praise the people involved in this work, and especially Jonathan Roper.

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Celebrating School Children's Birthdays in Norway

Erika Ravne Scott: Bursdag! En samtidsstudie av fødselsdagsselskapet som rituell handling. (Acta Humaniora nr. 322). Oslo, University of Oslo 2007. 316 pp. Diss.

In her doctoral dissertation in cultural history at the University of Oslo Erika Ravne Scott has studied how school children celebrate birthdays in recent times. These celebrations are considered in the light of rituals that call for actions in which both the children and their parents are actors. Interaction between these actors is necessary if any celebration is to be realized. Strategies for actions comprise a vital element in the dissertation. A multicultural aspect is evident due to the fact that up to one-third of the pupils in Oslo's schools has an immigrant background. The major portion of these children comes from Muslim families.

The source material on which the dissertation is based consists primarily of two qualitative interview surveys that the author conducted with a group of school children consisting of equal numbers of 12- to 13-year-old girls and boys.

The children were chosen on the basis of some of them having an ethnic Norwegian background and some an immigrant background. In addition to the children both parents and form masters or mistresses were interviewed. The two surveys deal with two school classes in 1995–1996 and six school classes in 2001–2002 respectively. Two children from each class were interviewed in the latter case. The author also conducted a quantitative compilation of material from school classes in 2002 by means of questionnaires published on the internet. However, this material, which consists of 303 replies from children of ages 10 to 13 in 17 different classes, has merely been allotted a secondary significance in the dissertation and is referred to only in the footnotes. The author emphasizes that this compiled material simply constitutes a "sounding-board" to the qualitative interviews. As a critical reader one notes that the questionnaire replies neither noticeably augment the more all-embracing analyses nor are integrated in them to any great degree. Mention of them in the footnotes might preferably have been more condensed and concentrated on the most important tendencies found in the material.

The compiled material has been completely anonymized in keeping with Norwegian law and has been deposited in the archives of the Norwegian Folk Museum in Oslo where Ravne Scott is employed. In the author's opinion, it is impossible to carry out actual observation at the children's birthday parties. Children of 12 or 13 years of age will not accept the presence of adults at their parties. Since observation has thus been precluded, the author has neither collected photographs nor utilized such material. The present reviewer wonders whether the respective parents might not have produced relevant photographs from their own collections.

In her reference to a relevant theoretical basis, the author cites several well-known international scholars of ritual. The reader experiences, however, some difficulties in understanding how these scholars' lines of reasoning are used by the author in her own analyses. One book of special importance is *Secular Ritual* (1997) edited by Sally Falk Moore and Barbara G. Meyerhoff. This book signified the definitive end to any and all unconditional association in research between ritual and a spiritual and religious dimension. It now became possible to speak of secular ritual, something that is appropriate to celebrations of birthdays. Another fundamental theoretical aspect utilized by Ravne Scott shows how rituals lead to actions and how these can change over the course of time.

Taken as a whole, the introductory main chapter concerning the approach, previous research, source material and theory must be said to be unnecessarily long (covering pages 9 to 115) and that it thus contains a great amount of redundant material.

The book's first analytical chapter discusses the question of the extent to which children's birthday celebrations are considered to be an obligatory or a voluntary ritual. This issue constitutes a dividing line between native-born Norwegians and immigrants having a non-Western background. Parents of the former category primarily represent it as being a compulsory feeling of duty – it is almost an instinct, they say – while the latter parents experience it as a matter of choice. Celebrations of birthdays in this form were never traditional in their former homelands or in the Islamic faith to which many of them are affiliated. Immigrant parents do not, however, completely oppose the wishes of their children to celebrate their birthdays in the same way as native-born Norwegian children. The Koran does not contain any prohibitions concerning this.

A subsequent analytical chapter elucidates questions concerning the school class as a ritual fellowship. Among the

younger children, at least, the entire class is most usually invited to the birthday party. This is based on a deeply grounded ideology of equality that permeates Norwegian society. The form masters and mistresses see to it that this principle is respected in the schools, and while this attitude has the support of the parents that is not always the case with the children. The only allowable dividing line according to common convention in Norway has to do with the children's sex. Girls and boys will in some cases have separate parties. Starting at about ten years of age, it is more usual that the pupils are allowed to choose to invite only some but not all of their classmates. A process of liberation from the parents and the school has begun to come into effect at this age. Gender-based invitations thus become much more common. Immigrant children make more use of the principle of selecting which children to invite than is the case among the native-born Norwegian children.

Another question of special interest with regard to immigrant children concerns the reception of an invitation. According to Norwegian cultural standpoints, one is definitely obliged to attend a party to which one has been invited. In the upper forms, certain pupils, especially boys, will evade attending a birthday party despite having received an invitation. In many cases Muslim parents forbid girls to attend parties at which both sexes are represented. They do not experience solidarity with Norwegian collectivity, preferring to exercise free choice instead of feeling a duty or social obligation to attend whenever one has been invited.

An additional analytical chapter analyses the conduct of the birthday ritual and studies the extent of its flexibility. In connection with the actors' actions a number of questions arise concerning how convention and praxis respond to each other. Birthdays are to be celebrated in the home, according to common Norwegian convention. In recent years, however, the offers made by the restaurant chain McDonald's have been regarded by many parents as a threat to the convention about the central role of the home. The size and value of birthday presents are also decided upon by means of a convention that is discussed at parents' meetings. Convention also determines what the parents offer as refreshments. Among these are baked goods such as cakes and buns, which are to be home-made and not purchased. Home-baked items function as a symbol of the good home. Hot dogs have long been a favourite of this convention but pizza has also become acceptable in recent years. This is an example of how the ritual can exhibit flexibility over the course of time. Such flexibility also relates to Muslim children whose religion prohibits the eating of pork. If the refreshments are not suitable for these children, they cannot participate in ethnic Norwegian children's birthday parties.

The activities carried out at the birthday party are also regulated by convention. The playing of various games is considered acceptable but not the showing of a DVD. Parents are also allowed to display considerable personal creativity. This must not, however, be of a nature that would run counter to the ideals of equality and moderation. They should not, for example, exhibit their economic status by conducting the party in a way that would mark a distinction compared to other parents. Immigrant parents have for the most part a positive attitude towards birthday celebrations with respect to equality, solidarity and moderation.

The next major chapter investigates the actors' positive and negative experiences. In her analysis, Ravne Scott utilizes specified pairs of opposites, the first of which is structure versus chaos. The challenge for parents lies in arranging a birthday celebration characterized by structure, whereas the actual course

of the party can give them a feeling of imperfect control over its progress. The worst result is if the children themselves experience the party as chaotic and as a ruined birthday. Boys are an especial threat to the structure and can provoke feelings of chaos. Chaos occurs more often among the ethnic Norwegian children than among the immigrant children. These latter are, according to the interviewed parents, more polite and respectful towards adults.

A second pair of opposites consists of nostalgia and change. Ethnic Norwegian parents, especially mothers, can yearn for the birthday celebrations of their own childhood. This is not an option among immigrant parents who have not celebrated birthdays in their native countries. Even older children can experience a nostalgic longing for the parties of younger years. Change is seen as a contrast to this nostalgia.

In a concluding chapter the author compares the actors' fundamental opinions and other issues dealing with continuity and change. Ethnic Norwegian parents consider the obligation to celebrate birthdays to be of prime importance, while immigrant parents emphasize the right to maintain a free choice. The ideology of equality which is accepted by the ethnic Norwegian parents involves inclusiveness in contrast to exclusiveness. One tangible change which differentiates ethnic Norwegian and immigrant parents is that the former begin to lose control over their children's birthday celebrations when the child is about ten years old, while the Muslim parents increase their control the older child becomes. Other issues too, such as what refreshments are offered and where the party is held, indicate that Muslim parents represent the greatest changes compared to previous Norwegian praxis.

As a conclusion I would say that this dissertation illustrates in an interesting way how rituals relating to the contemporary observances of life-span ceremonies continually fluctuate between continuity and change. The changes are in their turn related to transformations in the surrounding society. The author has very interestingly indicated the effects that the extensive immigration from non-Western cultures have had on the previously so homogeneous Norwegian culture with regard to children's birthdays. It leads one to wonder if these immigrants in time will also have an effect on the firmly established Norwegian celebration of the national holiday on 17 May.

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Technologies of Sociality

Inger Sjørslev (ed.): Scener for samvær. Ritualer, performance og socialitet. Aarhus universitetsforlag. Århus 2007. 220 pp.

When Pope John Paul II died in April 2005 the media circus focusing on "the theatre" of his funeral and the question of succession could be witnessed by millions of people in front of their television sets. It was a media performance and a ritual, a form a sociality on a grand scale. Rome and the Vatican came to be seen as an enormous stage for this "spiritual theatre", this ritual of a magnitude that we Northerners can only dream of. The city of the pope became a spiritual Hollywood or Cinecittà, a world of priests, columns, statues, balconies, entrances, halls and dark, mysterious rooms. A world of powerful metaphors, of innocence, celibacy, faith and autocracy.

The discussion of "real" and fake" performatives central to a time of intensified media saturation is one about cultural matrices and intensions, executions, positionings in a fragmented "global scene" in which competing cultural models are constantly tested as to their

degree of felicity, authenticity, truth value or fakeness. The emergence of fashion as a key concept in today's Western culture also adds up to this same logic of performance and ritualistic play. The questions of authenticity/inauthenticity tend, in this otherwise quite impressive edited volume called *Scener for samvær*, to be underplayed in the introduction and the summarization performed by the book's editor, Inger Sjørslev, but they are addressed by a couple of participants in the volume.

The sequencing of the book starts with cultures with a large time span in their ritual matrices, such as the ones discussed in Dorthe Brogård Kristensen's paper on the Mapuche people's mythological systems in their performative rituals and ritual narratives in Chile, and in Benedikte Møller Kristensen's paper about the intriguing cultural and spiritual geographies of the Duha reindeer nomads of northern Mongolia.

Both these papers are exemplary in their depictions of these traditional cultures living in a time and place where pressure from the outside world on their traditional values are pronounced. The mythological systems described are in a way almost "too good to be true", too overwhelming in their cultural density, too imaginative and effective. Coupled to the texts are a pair of very beautiful and imaginative colour pictures, and one wonders how to come to grips with these kinds of "definitive", harmonious narratives. At the same time they might introduce the reader to almost cinematic dreamscapes.

As for my own part the main relevant cultural context concerning the latter of these two texts is an equally quite imaginative and heartfelt movie, *Dersu Uzala* (1975), by Akira Kurosawa, about the encounter between a "Westerner" (sic!), the Russian explorer and cartographer Vladimir Arsenyev, and the Nanai hunter Dersu Uzala. There seem to be notions of both exoticism and hybridity buried in the anthropologists' reports of these in many ways quite different worlds (Chile, Mongolia). The problem of these traditional cultures succumbing to the "modern", globalized world is nevertheless addressed here. Brogård Kristensen notes that the Mapuche identity is just one of several identities actualized in everyday living, identities as female/male, worker/peasant, Christian, parent/partner/child etc. In Benedikte Møller Kristensen's report this can be seen as a double threat: the closing of the open range of these nomads and the old folkloristic "demon" of the last sage or shaman or culturally authentic man or woman still alive, being discovered just before the culture succumbs to oblivion. Incidentally, in my popular cultural frame of reference the concept of open range automatically brings to mind the highly mythologized era of the American cowboy and the West. Both these fine texts raise questions of an underlying trait of nostalgia and exoticism running through the texts.

In the same semantic terrain of age-old mythical systems functioning as a source for narratives and performatives of today, another striking example is the article written by Rannveig Lárusdottir Reumert on the close connection between the world of the spirits of the dead and of the living people in today's Iceland. Lárusdottir Reumert is interested in the storytelling taking place centring on instances of cultural osmosis, between the visible and the invisible worlds. Here a rich terrain in today's popular culture also immediately offers itself for comparison, e.g. the film *The Green Mile* (1999), based on a story by Stephen King, on a cultural slippage between the living and the dead. What this referent in my own field of popular culture research does is provide me with a kind of cultural map or frame into which this kind of highly ambivalent, paradoxical, almost grotesque storytelling might fit. A conclusion might be that there are quite a few links between this type of "traditional" storytelling and more mod-

ern adaptations. And as noted by the writer of the text, an important cultural mediator between the old belief system in Iceland and today's practices of telling such stories is the emergence of spiritualism in the late nineteenth century. The spiritualist movement in itself had repercussions on new technologies such as cinema, radio, television, but also was obviously formed in part by the opening up of the cultural horizon by earlier technological breakthroughs such as the telegraph and the telephone.

The question of tradition vs. innovation, of ways of dealing with the transmission of traditional cultural values and performative practices, is highlighted in Ashu Conrad's key text in this volume, positioned at a crucial point on the axes of anthropological "antiquity" or traditionboundness, a "deep" cultural timeline coupled to some quite mythical spaces, as I noted above, and explorations of more modern cultures. Since this text touches upon so many of the central concerns as to relevant ways of analysing the instances of ritual, performance and sociality discussed in this book as a whole, I shall discuss this text in slightly more detail.

What is described in Ashu Conrad's text is the profane folk opera festival called *lhamo* in the Tibetan exile community of Dharamsala in Northern India, in which an intricate, multi-theatrical, several days long cultural festival is created and maintained in order to mirror the historical festival once held in Tibet at the gates of the Dalai Lama's summer residence. Using mainly Victor Turner's influential ideas on ritual and performance (a key theoretical ingredient in the book as a whole) Conrad is able to show that the participants (both players and audience) are part of a liminal, transforming experience which has deep cultural and affective meanings as a means of refreshing the exile Tibetans' cultural identities. This is also why Dalai Lama himself is very interested in supervising the event and promoting it as an important *pièce de résistance* against the erosion of the Tibetans' cultural memory. The sense of sacredness, liminality, personal transformation and renewal by way of the festival experience is well documented in Conrad's careful dissemination of the event. But there are other questions central to the problems of cultural recall in the present which Conrad also addresses, but the full implications of which are perhaps not outlined in her text.

The questions of sacrality and authenticity could also be addressed by looking into what Ashu Conrad names the Shangri-La syndrome but sadly never really defines or discusses further. This is in my view one of the crucial questions of this double-edged problematic of the so-called authenticity of the folk opera festival performed in Dharamsala. A feasible point of departure might be that we are all to some degree influenced by the cultural history of the remoteness, exoticism and nostalgia of the Shangri-La syndrome, a popular cultural concept grounded in James Hilton's novel *Lost Horizon* from 1933, and partly evoked also in the Hollywood biopics *Seven Years in Tibet* and *Kundun*, both made in 1997. Not least the question of aural authenticity and sacredness, "deepness", are strongly invested with this Shangri-La syndrome, from the recordings of monk incantations, ritual drumming, and the special kind of stereotyped, "shrieking" singing which Conrad notes as one of the characteristics of the *lhamo* festival.

Another no less important question which Conrad mentions, but does not expand upon, is the bifurcation of the Tibetan post-existence, after Tibet lost its independence and thereby also much of its cultural specificality. As Conrad notes, there exist today two traditions which both try to transport this culture into the world of today, the exile Tibetans of North India and the Tibetans and Chinese inside Tibet-China. Comparing these two cultural and aesthetic prac-

tices, one of them influenced by communism and in the musical field by the Beijing opera and the other by capitalism and, at least indirectly, by the immensely popular Indian form of musical cinema, the Bollywood movies of Mumbai, could have been quite an interesting undertaking.

I shall discuss the rest of the articles in a more compressed form, not because they are less interesting or valuable, but because they share many of the concerns I have already discussed. I mention mainly things which have left some question marks in my readings, which, as indicated, does not mean that I think the texts are not up to the general high standard of this book.

In Mia Schlichtkrull's description of a form of cultural tourism in Bali, in which immersion and participation in the host culture is a vital mode of the touristic experience, the question of the authenticity of the experience (or alternatively inauthenticity) is seen as a sign working in several directions, towards the host culture, but perhaps most of all as a form of distinction made towards other tourists. The notion of being "a good tourist" brings the concept of authenticity into contact, as she notes, with earlier dichotomies of travellers/tourists, but also, I think, with subcultural concerns in postmodern society. Aspects of style, distinction, and attitude are central to many different subcultures. The notion of credibility is put forward towards the persons she is studying, but I think she backs off too early when this question should be answered.

Gitte Olesen's paper on male transvestites investing in a symbolically rich and complex cultural play on gender roles on display is interesting not least because she works her way through this specific cultural terrain, especially by way of the groundbreaking theorizing on gender flexibilities offered by Judith Butler. But when she shows how this kind of cross-dressing is to a large extent an illusion, one starts wondering if this reading isn't at odds with Butler's view of gender identities as contingent and imitative. Reading against the grain is of course nothing new to cultural research, but represents an interesting twist to this paper.

In Camilla Stubbe Teglbjærg's article on the meanings of flow, abandon and taking risks, the concept of falling is a superb insight, something which she discusses in a most interesting way. But the question I ask when reading the text is why one must travel as far as New York in order to experience jazz flow. Isn't there any flow to be found closer to home? Also the question of different jazz idioms, not least free jazz (which she clearly is not discussing) could have been brought into the discussion. A slight misspelling of Billie Holiday's name ("Holliday") is one of those unfortunate lapses that we all commit, but it should have been corrected at the latest in the proofreading process. It should be noted that Stubbe Teglbjærg's view of jazz improvisation as above all a question of both collective and individual freedom, flow and abandon is not the only way of looking at this practice. A contrasting view on jazz improvisation as mainly one about the etiquette of jam sessions is offered by sociologist and jazz musician Howard S. Becker ("The Etiquette of Improvisation").

In Nana Vaaben's paper on fans of Bruce Springsteen, the notion of insider and outsider, i.e. a form of social interactionism, is brought into play in a most fascinating way. The dynamics are here mostly targeted towards the different strata of fans, especially those taking part in Springsteen concerts, and also fans active on the net, but the one thing which is missing is a discussion of the Bruce persona itself and how that specific persona also forms the cult. There are some traces of such a discussion, but more would have been necessary, in order to safeguard the article from being seen as a text on such a vague and elu-

sive category as fandom of “a typical male rock star”.

The main theoretical thrust in *Scener for samvær* is offered by the book’s editor, Inger Sjørslev. What Sjørslev and her colleagues are doing in this book is more radical than the reorientation taking place in the two Scandinavian volumes on ritual I reviewed in last year’s *Ethnologia Scandinavica*. Here the fields of ritual and ritual studies are brought into close contact with both performance/performativity and the more general and abstract concept of sociality. It is this triangulation of concepts which makes this book such a fascinating read, since it leads to a notion of symbolic action seen as a continuum between highly ritualistic, rigid forms of performance and quite open, negotiable ones. The question of cultural matrices of these performances is never abandoned here, which is quite important and underlined by the fact that these texts are grounded both in anthropological fieldwork of a “classic” kind and in theories from these same quarters (Durkheim, Mauss, Turner, Douglas).

The central innovation of this volume is the introduction of the third concept, sociality, into this discussion, a concept grounded in Georg Simmel’s Gesellschaft, that is a more abstract, more free-floating, “totalizing” concept of sociability, of man’s intrinsic, inescapable way of being, to use the old cliché, a social animal. One of Simmel’s insights as to the nature of social interaction is that this kind of interaction is something going on all the time and it is not restricted to only those sharing the same interests and views of things. Sjørslev’s way of dealing with the problems indicated here is a clever one. She highlights the materiality and work going on in the examples she is offering. Based on her fieldwork in Brazil on candomblé practices she is able to show how the concrete work involved in ritual sacrifice practices in the Candomblé religion concerns persons, animals and things, moving between the positions of the spiritual, the living and the non-organic realms. It is in the movements and border crossings between these different realms and the status changes occurring in these operations, but also in the quite concrete way in which all these objects are obtained, bought and brought together, in which a community of belief and worship is constructed. This aspect of concreteness, “thingness”, materialism in the cultural practice is underlined here. In Sjørslev’s analysis it constitutes the technology of sociality. This kind of concept, then, the technology of sociality, with one aspect being highly abstract (sociality) and the other quite materialistic (technology, work), must be seen as a paradoxical one, an intermediary, between realms which seem to be quite different and far apart but which upon a closer analysis reveal themselves to be akin, working their “magic” on the participants in the ritualistic performance.

When she deals with performance *per se* it seems to me that Sjørslev is less successful. She introduces a concept, or rather a binary, “on/off”, in which the “on”-position is the one being actualized in ritualistic performances of the kind analysed in this book. Being “on” is not a very promising concept from an analytical point of view. But, as noted, by bringing forth the notions of sociality and especially technologies of sociality she is able to move forward from this position.

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Are You Finnish or What?

Marja Ågren: Är du finsk, eller…?En etnologisk studie om att växa upp och leva med finsk bakgrund i Sverige. Bokförlaget Arkipelag, Göteborg 2006. 297 pp.

Marja Ågren examines a group of second-generation Finnish immigrants in

Gothenburg, that is, children of immigrants who have a background in northern Finland.

The parents have moved from the northern Finnish countryside to a big city in Sweden. Ågren gives a thick description of the reasons why it was found necessary to move in the 1950s and later. When peace was concluded with the Soviet Union, large areas of land had to be ceded to them, including the Salla district and Karelia. The post-war years were chaotic. A total of more than 400,000 Finnish citizens had to be relocated in the country. Lapland was particularly hard hit because yet another war had to be fought to drive out the German troops stationed in northern Finland. The civilian population had to be temporarily evacuated, some to Sweden, some to Österbotten on the west coast of Finland. The Germans practised scorched-earth tactics, burning everything of value as they were pressed back. Those who were evacuated could not take many of their possessions with them. Ågren describes this vividly: "Since it was not possible to take along more than the occasional thing when evacuated, it often meant that when people lost their homes they also lost furniture, textiles, clothes, kitchen utensils, tools, bedclothes, books, photographs, and toys. With them disappeared also memories of life before the war, things that children and grandchildren could have inherited, objects to which stories could have been attached" (p. 107).

When they later returned to their homes after the retreat of the Germans, it was no easy matter to start the reconstruction. While the inner wounds had to heal, people simultaneously had to try to create a future in the war-torn Finland. The whole of Finland was being restructured. Many people moved west – to Sweden – to find work and earn a living. There was a huge contrast between the freedom of the Finnish countryside and the factories of the big city. Two maps appended to the book make it easier to see where the two places of the narratives are located and to understand the radical change for those who moved from the Finnish "wilderness" to the big maritime and industrial city of Gothenburg. Ågren's study displays the great contrasts between both the external and the internal landscapes. The capital that the Finnish immigrants brought with them to Sweden was called work. This wore down the body and ultimately caused injuries. It was in the glorification of work that the children grew up in the suburbs of Gothenburg. Many of them could get their schooling in "Finnish" classes and were thus able to retain their language reasonably well. Education, for most of them, led to less strenuous jobs than the parents had, but some did not move upwards.

Contacts with Finland shrank to holiday trips, and the parents' dream of being able to move back to the place of their birth usually came to nothing.

A central question for these second-generation Finns is: what am I – Finnish or Swedish? Ågren has a very interesting discussion of the Finnish immigrants' position *vis-à-vis* other immigrants. When a second-generation Finn meets the response "you're just Finnish", what does it mean? "Is it then a choice between being able to prove that you have been 'racified enough' to be ascribed a 'pan-ethnic consciousness', and hence belong to the collective of immigrants; or 'Finnish enough' to gain access to the community of Finns in Sweden; or 'Swedish enough' to be counted among 'Swedishness'?" (p. 236).

They were born in Sweden and speak the language, but their sense of belonging varies. Many of them take their "Finnishness" for granted, and there is also a worry that it will gradually disappear. Others regard Finnishness as a plus which adds spice to life. Being able to have one's Finnishness "on the inside" is a good description of how the individ-

ual can feel, and that is enough for many second-generation immigrants. Those who have Swedish partners find it difficult to retain their language in everyday life. Ågren brings out very well the significance of language for the individual and the sense of "who am I"? Yet it is still the case, as she shows, that "the home language" that immigrants speak in Sweden does not develop in the same way as it does in "the homeland". The informants in her study have also discovered that their Finnish (and that of their parents) is old-fashioned compared with Finnish as it is spoken in Finland today. But they can still feel the pleasure of "knowing" their own language. Ågren also demonstrates that these young people have other things in their lives that give them a position of their own in Sweden. It is no longer a matter of finding the way back, but: "It was more a matter of becoming aware of the personal and collective components that you can play with" (p. 181).

One of the informants says: "I am different because I am the person I am, not because I come from Finland." When Ågren asks them: "Are you Finnish or…?" the answer is: Second-generation Finns are both Swedish and Finnish. Both elements are important for understanding who you are.

Ågren's dissertation is written in fluid and captivating language. This means that those who are interested in issues of immigration and identity will derive great benefit from reading it. Into the bargain they will get many good tips about current literature on the topic.

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